National Library of Canada
Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services Branch
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction des acquisitions et des services bibliographiques
395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

CROWSNEST PASS HISTORIC RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT: A DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS

BY

Paul A. Altrogge

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Recreation

Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies

Edmonton, Alberta
Fall, 1992

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-77355-3

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Paul A. Altrogge

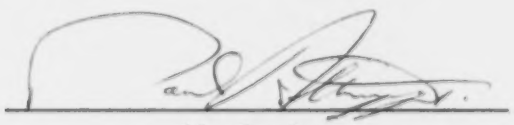
TITLE OF THESIS: Crowsnest Pass Historic Resource Development: A Documentary Analysis.

DEGREE: Master of Arts in Recreation.

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: Fall, 1992.

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Library to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis, and except as hereinbefore provided neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatever without the author's prior written permission.



(Author)

780 Lee Ridge Road
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada
T6K 2M9

Oct 8, 1992

(date)

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a Thesis entitled CROWSNEST PASS HISTORIC RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT: A DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS submitted by PAUL A. ALTROGGE in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS IN RECREATION.

(Thesis Supervisor, Dr. Peter Heron)

(Dr. Gerald Redmond)

(Dr. Guy Swinnerton)

(Dr. Bill Byrne)

Sept. 22/1992

(Date)

This thesis is dedicated to all the members of my extended family who have knowingly and unknowingly provided support throughout my years in the graduate program at the University of Alberta. In particular I would like to thank my partner Rita, whose sacrifices have been extraordinary, and my parents Mary Stuart and Leo and Dorothy Altrogge who have cared so much for my family throughout this educational experience. Words alone cannot express my gratitude for your actions.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to conduct a survey and documentary analysis of the development of historic resource policy and those factors which influenced both provincial and Crowsnest Pass historic resource policies and activities from 1963 to 1979. The period 1963 to 1979 includes significant economic and political factors which heavily influenced the development of Crowsnest Pass historic resources.

It was from 1973 to 1979 that the Crowsnest Pass Citizen's Historical Society performed its most important work in the protection and preservation of Pass historic resources. This work was the basis for the significant 1980's provincial and Ecomuseum historic resource development in the Pass. The study also examines historic resource development activities and policies at the provincial and Pass level into the 1980's to illustrate the importance of the period 1963 to 1979.

Historic resource policy documents and legislation as well as social, political, economic and demographic factors were examined at both the provincial and local level. Federal influence on provincial and local historic resource development was also examined though not to the same depth. Significant in-depth data on Federal, Provincial and Crowsnest Pass history, political situation and other factors were presented in the study Appendices because of the great amount of data.

Documentary data were obtained through a number of sources while interview data were collected through semi-structured interviews to obtain data which were not available in documentary form. David Easton's Framework for Political Analysis was chosen to guide the interpretation of the data.

Crowsnest Pass historic resource activities were heavily influenced by provincial historic resource policy development. There were also important local influences on Pass historic resource activities with the most significant factor being the struggle for local economic development. The 1979 amalgamation of the Pass communities was significant for local historic resource development as well as it paved the way for decisive and swift municipal support of historic resource development in the 1980's.

I would like to acknowledge and thank Dr. Peter Heron for his patience and guidance throughout the production of this thesis. Looking back on my journey, I realize that writing this thesis was the greatest learning experience of the Masters Program. I also wish to acknowledge the kindness and patience of those people interviewed through the course of my research. Finally, I wish to acknowledge the many librarians throughout the University of Alberta and Alberta Government Departments who showed great patience in guiding me to data sources.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE Introduction and Overview . . 1
Context 1
Purpose 3
Significance 3
Definitions 6
Maps of the Study Area 8
Delimitations 9
Limitations 12
Outline 13

CHAPTER TWO Historical Background of Alberta and the Crowsnest Pass 15
Historical Context of Alberta and the Crowsnest Pass . . 15
Alberta 15
The Crowsnest Pass 17
Provincial Policies Prior to 1973 22
Internal Influences 22
Political Influence 22
Economic Influence 26
Demographic Influence 27
Historic Resource Policies 29
Crowsnest Pass Policies Prior to 1973 37
Internal Influences 37
Political Circumstances 38
Economic Influence 39
Demographic Influence 40
Historic Resource Activities 42
Summary 42

CHAPTER THREE Methodology 44
Research Concerns 44
Research Questions 45

Methods of Data Collection 45
Documents 45
Interviews 46
Data Sources 47
Data Analysis 50
External and Internal Criticism 51
Easton's Systems Theory of Political Behavior . . . 51
The Policy Development Process 53
Summary 54

CHAPTER FOUR Provincial Historic Resource Policies - 1963 to 1979 56
Internal Influences 56
Political Influence 56
Economic Influence 63
Demographic Influence 64
Historic Resource Policies 65
The Development of Major Provincial Museums . . 65
The Environment Conservation Movement . . . 69
The PC Party and Minister Horst Schmid . . . 73
The Alberta Heritage Act, 1973 78
The Implementation of the 1973 Act 87
Provincial Policy Within Specific Policy Areas . . 97
Summary 106

CHAPTER FIVE Crowsnest Pass Historic Resource Policies and Activities - 1963 to 1979 108
Provincial Policy Influence 108
Internal Influences 110
Political Influence 110
Economic Influence 118
Demographic Influence 121
Municipal Policies 121

The Crowsnest Pass Citizen's Historical Society Activities . 124
The Historical Society Individual Program Activities . . 146
Analysis According to Easton's System's Theory . . . 151
The Provincial Political System 151
The Crowsnest Pass Political System 156
Summary 159

CHAPTER SIX Summary, Conclusions and Implications . 162
Summary 162
Conclusions 166
Implications 170

REFERENCES CITED 173

APPENDIX A
Map of the Crowsnest Pass - Ward System 1979 . . 192
APPENDIX B
Municipal Policy In Alberta - 1905 to 1979 . . . 194
APPENDIX C
Crowsnest Pass History Up to and Including 1962 . . 202
APPENDIX D
Analysis of Historic Resource Legislation
- 1973 to 1979 217
The Alberta Heritage Act 1973 217
Government Control of Private Historic Resources . 222
Government Control of Municipal Historic Resources . 224
Government Control of Other Government Department . 227
APPENDIX E
Amalgamation in the Crowsnest Pass 231
APPENDIX F
International and Federal Influences on Provincial
Historic Resource Policy Development . . . 239
International Influence 240
Federal Influence 245

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Designated Historic Resources in Alberta - 1975 - 1990	83

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure **Page**

1. Population of Alberta - 1901 - 1986 28
2. Crowsnest Pass Population - 1901 - 1984 . . . 41
3. Model - Easton's System Theory 52
4. Social Credit Cultural and Historic Resource Expenditures - 1963 - 1971 58
5. Progressive Conservative Historic Resource Expenditures - 1972 - 1979 89
6. Progressive Conservative Cultural/Historic Resource Expenditures - 1972 - 1987 . . . 95

LIST OF MAPS

Map		Page
1.	Crowsnest Pass - location in Alberta . . .	. 10
2.	Crowsnest Pass - Alberta Side	. 11
3.	Crowsnest Pass - Alberta Side Ward System 1979 - Appendix A	. 193

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Overview

Chapter One is an introduction and overview of the study. The general background is presented in the first section followed by the study's Purpose and Significance in following sections. The Study's Definitions are presented in the next section which precedes two maps of the Crowsnest Pass area. The Delimitations and Limitations of the study sections are next reported and the Outline of the chapters is in the final section.

Context

Alberta's governments had struggled with the question of provincial control of municipal development from 1905. Successive governments respected an unwritten rule that local autonomy must not be compromised. However, local land development abuses and the increasing need for a co-ordinated provincial economic strategy produced attempts by provincial governments to place unobtrusive controls on municipalities.

In response, provincial governments attempted to persuade municipalities to cooperatively plan for economic and social development. However, this approach had been largely unsuccessful due to resistance from municipalities to the effect that other municipal influences were instituted. Provincial jurisdiction over municipal purse strings became a most important instrument for directing municipal policy.

Early in Alberta's history municipalities had been independently funded through local revenue. In the 1920's and 1930's these revenue

sources were no longer adequate because of rising costs and limited ability to institute local taxation and municipalities began to call on the provincial government to introduce province-wide taxation and equal revenue sharing. The economic devastation of the 1930's Depression forced the provincial government to take responsibility for all social programs. The government also assumed control of several municipal taxation areas and developed province-wide taxation schemes to support its new social program responsibilities. Authority over these revenue sources has remained with the provincial government to the 1990's.

Up to and into the 1980's the Provincial government supplemented and influenced municipal policies and programs mainly through conditional grants. Further, the provincial government retained responsibility for social programs and therefore the powers of municipal councils in Alberta were restricted to land development issues within the political sphere. The provincial government thus had a large amount of control of both the resources and the legislative mandate for the development of Alberta's historic resources. However, throughout the 1970's, most municipal councils were unconcerned about historic resource development at the local level. In addition, the provincial government, to the late 1970's, assumed that municipalities had the power to control historic resource land development within their jurisdictions.(Byrne, 1992)

The development of Crowsnest Pass historic resources reflected this situation. Local historic resource development depended in large part on both the allocation of provincial resources through conditional grants and local financing. The Crowsnest Pass Citizen's Historical Society could not access provincial grants because of the fragmented nature of the Pass communities, did not have the ability to raise sufficient funds due to their small size and the depressed local economy, and the Pass municipal councils did not have the finances nor the concern for historic resource preservation to do other than support the Society in principle. This study explores the factors

influencing this provincial/municipal funding relationship in Pass historic resource development.

Purpose

The purpose of the study was to trace and document influences, emphasizing historic resources policies, that were involved in historic resource development in the Crowsnest Pass from 1963 to 1979. Within the context of provincial and local Crowsnest Pass social, economic and demographic trends, Alberta Government and Crowsnest Pass historic resource policies and activities were reviewed from 1963 to 1979 to determine the influence each had on the other policy base.

Significance

The push for economic development was and continues to be very strong within all areas of Alberta's economy and is actively promoted at the municipal, regional and provincial levels.(Bettison, Kenward and Taylor, 1975; Masson, 1985) One aspect of this economic development is the push towards economic diversification through tourist industry development in Alberta and Canada, especially in the 1980's and early 1990's. The tourist industry is becoming economically more important as it increases in size world-wide.(D'Amore, 1985)

The significance of the tourist industry to this study is twofold; (1) the tourist industry demonstrates the increasing economic priority of tourism provincially, nationally and internationally; (2) the industry also demonstrates the increased importance of the leisure aspects of tourism. These dual functions of tourism have given it an emphasis reflected in the legislative mandates generated by Alberta's government.

In the Crowsnest Pass, historic resource development from 1980 onwards was accomplished first through emphasis on the development

of the Leitch Collieries and Frank Slide Historic sites as economic generators through the tourist industry. Continued provincial encouragement of the local historic resource action groups resulted in increasing interest in Pass historic resource development for further local economic development The actions of both the local historic groups and the department laid the foundation for the formation of the Ecomuseum Trust in 1986.

This study is an example of the intermingling of local and provincial initiatives in the development of Alberta's historic resources. The movement to preserve Alberta's historic resources had been gaining momentum in Alberta since 1967. At the provincial level, the development of the Alberta Heritage Act 1973 was the most significant occurrence for further provincial historic resource development. At the local level, the 1973 formation of the Crowsnest Pass Citizen's Historical Society had similar importance for local historic resource development.

What is presented in this study is the influence each had on the development of the other policy base and a demonstration of the process of policy influence according to Easton's Systems Theory. The study follows the development of provincial policy and its influence on Pass historic resource policies and activities while revealing the effects that strong local lobbying action had on the further development of provincial policy.

This study is also important as a demonstration of the type of community activity necessary for the preservation of local historic resources. The preservation and development of Pass historic resources from 1973 is a stirring example of what can be done at the local level through strong leadership, persistent effort and unceasing lobbying. At the same time, this study exemplifies the type of encouragement and cooperation that was offered to municipalities by Alberta Culture in the late 1970's and 1980's as it moved to stimulate municipal involvement in local historic resource development.

Of particular importance, as well, is the story of the 'roots' of Crowsnest Pass historic resource policies, a process which prepared

the groundwork for the development of the Pass Ecomuseum. The very vocal leaders of the Society were instrumental in the preservation of many Pass historic resources and contributed to the strong community support for historic resources development. This support encouraged the Department to target the Pass for the development of some of the first provincially significant historic sites in the province.

The example of the Crowsnest Pass provides an illustration of the development and preservation of many historic resources in municipalities across Alberta in the late 1970's and 1980's. The Crowsnest Pass region was perhaps different only because of the great concentration of local historic resources within a geographically confined area - a natural setting for the development of a focussed interpretative effort for the local historic resources. The fact that there was such a great number of well preserved historic resources within such a geographically confined area made the application of the éco-musée concept natural.

In the Crowsnest Pass, historic resource development from 1980 onwards was accomplished mainly through emphasis on the development and interpretation of the entire community as a living, evolving museum - the éco-musée concept. In Alberta the éco-musée concept continues to be utilized as a means of historic preservation and development and as an instrument for economic diversification.

Across Canada, the "ecomuseum" is attracting increasing attention as a model for historic resource development. The Heritage Canada Foundation used the éco-musée concept as the basis for a new strategy called the Regional Heritage Tourism Strategy.(Heritage Canada Foundation, 1988) The ecomuseum elements of cooperative planning for leisure, tourism and economic development at the municipal, regional, provincial, and national levels represent a significant achievement in the planning process.

Definitions

The following definitions are adopted for this study:

Bottom-up policy development refers to policy initiatives coming from outside government or lower levels of government.

Ecomuseum - ". . . is an instrument conceived, fashioned and operated jointly by a public authority and a local population. . . . It is an expression of man and nature. It situates man in his natural environment. It portrays nature in its wilderness, but also as adapted by traditional and industrial society in their own image.

It is an expression of time, when the explanations it offers reach back before the appearance of man, ascend the course of the prehistoric and historical times in which he lived and arrive finally at man's present. It also offers vistas of the future, while having no pretensions of decision-making, its function being rather to inform and critically analyze."(Riviere, 1985, 183)

Heritage Tourism refers to the increasing phenomenon in which heritage sites such as museums, historic sites and other heritage resources are identified and visited by tourists as tourist destinations.

Historic resource is ". . . any work of nature or of man that is primarily of value for its paleontological, archaeological, prehistoric, historic, cultural, natural, scientific or aesthetic interest including, but not limited to, a paleontological, archaeological, prehistoric, historic or natural site, structure or object."(Alberta. Statutes of Alberta. Historical Resources Act, 1990, 1-f)

Historic resource policies are those policies that deal with the designation, protection and development of cultural, historic, pre-

historic, archaeological, and paleontological artifacts, sites, structures and natural features.

Historic site is ". . . any site which includes or is comprised of an historical resource of an immovable nature or which cannot be disassociated from its context without destroying some or all of its value as an historic resource and includes a prehistoric, historic or natural site or structure."(Alberta. Statutes of Alberta. Historical Resources Act, 1990, 1-g)

Legislation is described as ". . . the products of the legislative process; the body of rules laid down thereby, it is equivalent to statute-law."(Walker, 1980).

Municipality is ". . . a city, town, new town, village, municipal district, improvement district and special area."(Alberta. Statutes of Alberta. The Cultural Development Act, 1960, 14-3-b)

Political system is ". . . distinguished . . . by interactions involving the authoritative allocation of valued resources."(Easton, 1965, 49) In this study, the political system deals with the allocation of valued resources in provincial and local historic resource policy areas and the control and development of historic resources after allocation has taken place.

Public policy refers to government decisions and actions to allocate valued resources in support of public policy statements in a particular policy area. In this study, the term "outputs" is restricted by Easton(1965) to those interactions concerning the authoritative allocation of resources and the binding decisions and actions related to the formation and implementation of these resources.

Regulation is ". . . an ancillary or subordinate piece of legislation which the executive or Minister or some subordinate body is

empowered to make to facilitate the carrying out of a statute."("Regulation." The Canadian Law Dictionary, 1980)

Top-down policy development refers to policy initiatives coming from the upper levels of government(Minister, Deputy Minister, Assistant Deputy Minister, and Senior Civil Servant levels) which are sent down to lower Department levels for clarification and implementation.

Maps of the Study Area

The first map(see p. 10) of Alberta provides the reader with the location of the Crowsnest Pass in association with highway #3 through the Pass into British Columbia(BC). The source is an Oldman River Regional Planning Commission document Application to Undertake a Sub-Regional Study Including Urban Renewal For The Crow's Nest Pass Area, 1966, page 1, Illustration # 1.(Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, November 1966.) The map shows the location of the Pass as associated with the communities along highway #3 through southern Saskatchewan, southern Alberta and Southern BC. The route was particularly important as both a travel route and a rail link between the western provinces and the coast of BC.

The second map(see p. 11) gives a more detailed depiction of the communities located within the Crowsnest Pass and those communities on the Albertan and BC sides of the Pass which were closely tied to the Pass economy and coal mining industry from the early 20th century. The source is another Oldman River Regional Planning Commission document entitled Crowsnest Pass Subregional Plan: Characteristics, Problems, Proposals, 1969, page iii.(Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, 1969) The map provides the reader with the detailed location of the Pass communities and the BC coal mining communities such as Fernie, Elko, Sparwood, Natal and Michel which provided the initial migration of workers to the Pass.

Delimitations

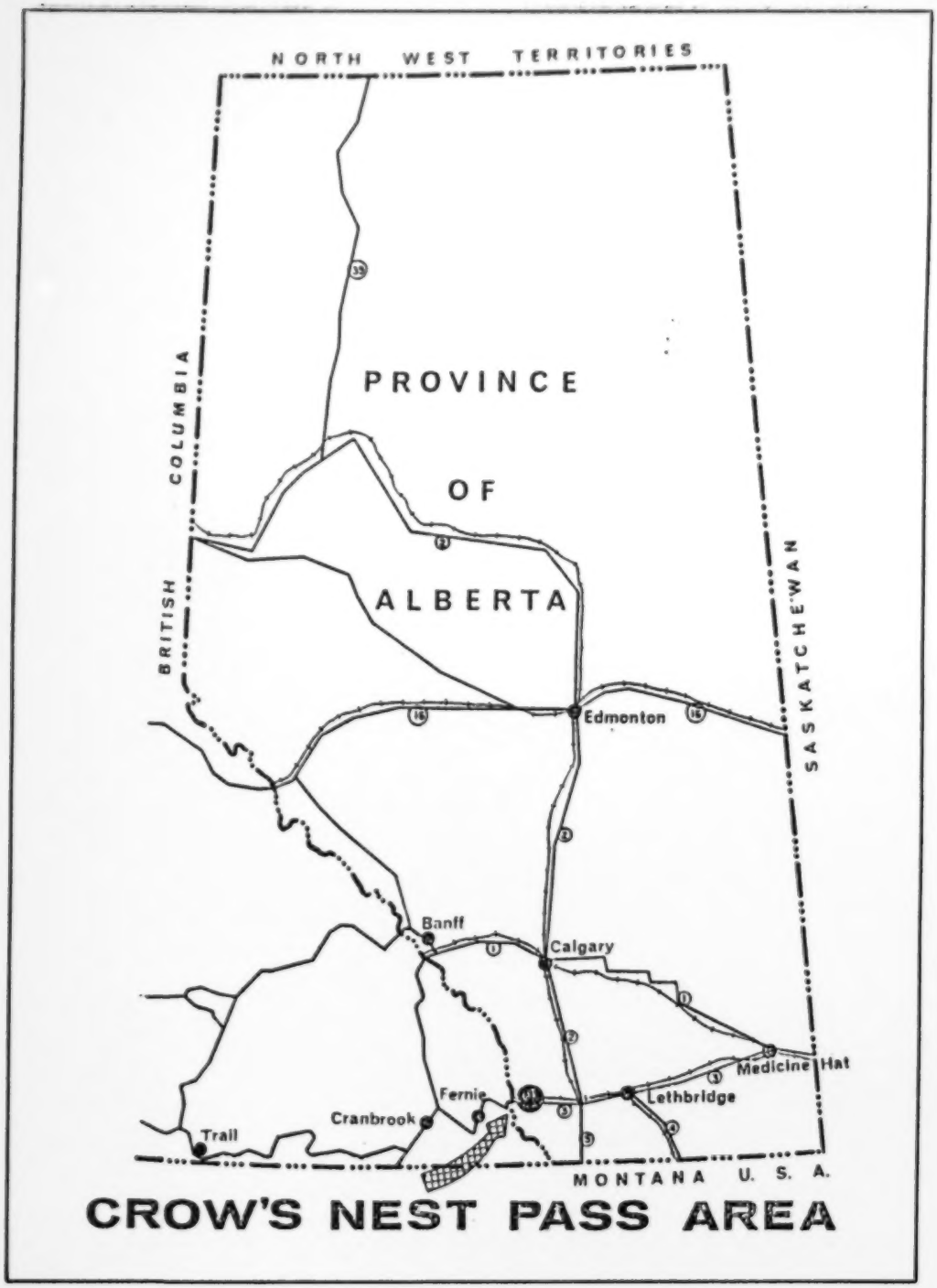
The study is delimited to the Province of Alberta and the municipalities of the Crowsnest Pass, Alberta. Prior to 1979 the people of the Crowsnest Pass lived in the towns of Blairmore and Coleman, the villages of Bellevue and Frank, and the eight hamlets of Hillcrest Mines, East Coleman, Blairmore Road, Graftontown, Carbondale, Willow Drive, Sentinel, and Hazel. In 1979 these communities were amalgamated into the Municipality of Crowsnest Pass.[1] The Crowsnest Pass area includes valley land bounded by the high ridges to the north and south and extends from the BC border in the West to the boundary of Improvement District #5 in the East.(see maps 1 and 2, pp. 10 and 11)

The study is further delimited to elements of historic resource policies in Alberta from 1900 to 1990. Within this context, the study focuses on the time period 1963 to 1979 which represents a significant span of national and provincial intervention in the local economy and the initiation and development of significant local and provincial historic resource preservation and development activity. However, the ramifications of both provincial and Crowsnest Pass policies and activities extend into the 1980's and beyond. Though there is less detail, the interaction between provincial policy and Crowsnest Pass policies and activities will be explored past 1979 to depict the actions which had their "roots" in the period 1963 to 1979.

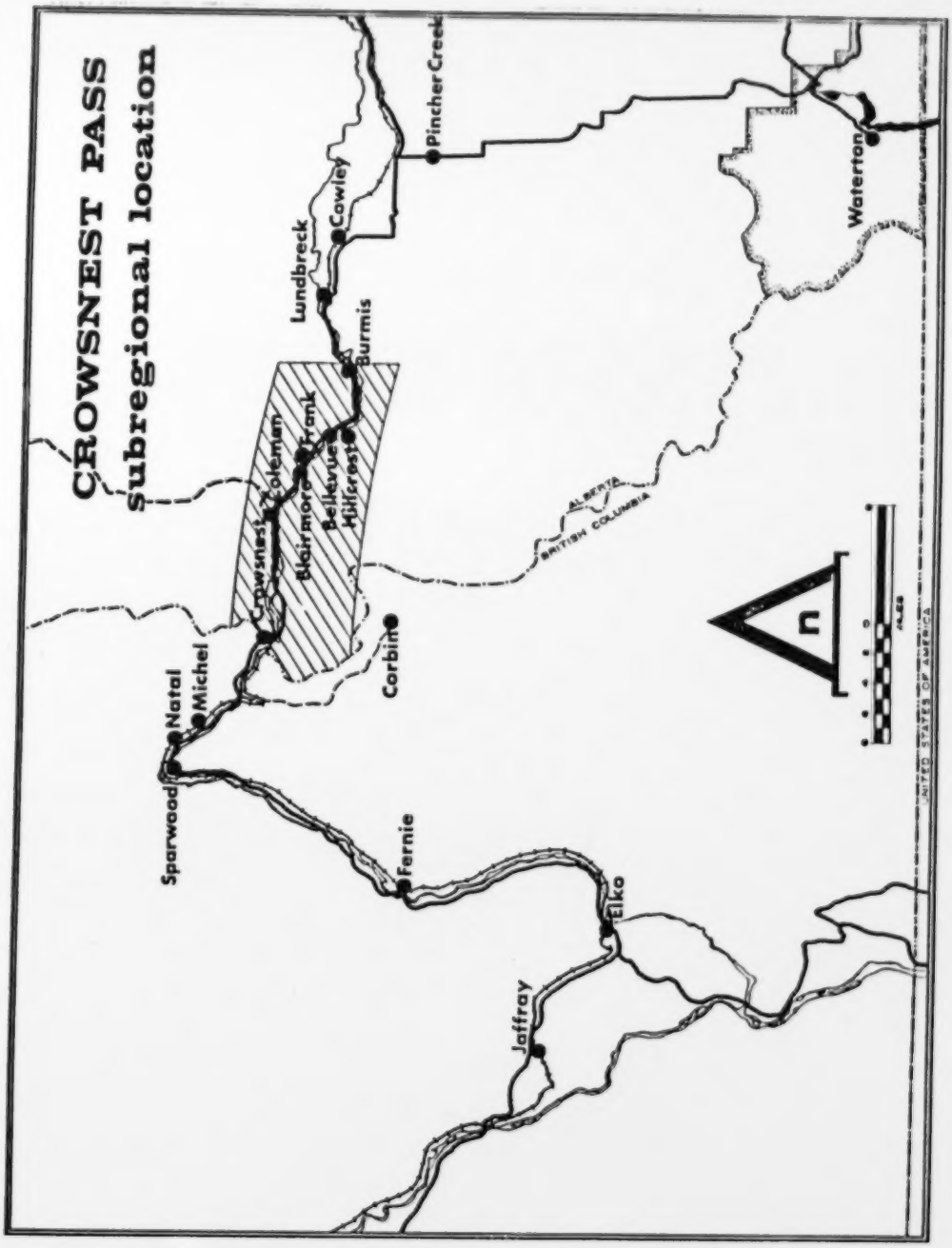
In 1963, the municipalities of the Crowsnest Pass were included in the newly formed Improvement District No. 10 in an attempt to stimulate the local economy. Also in 1963, the Pass became involved in a Federal Department of Regional Economic Development program whose purpose was to stimulate industrial development in the region including the Pass. In 1979, the municipalities of the Crowsnest Pass valley amalgamated to form one municipality - another significant attempt to reduce costs and stimulate the local economy. These two incidents represent the ongoing struggle for local economic

---

[1]See Appendix A: Map of the Crowsnest Pass - Alberta Side - Ward System 1979.



Map 1 - Crowsnest Pass - Location in Alberta
Source: Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, 1966, p. 1



Map 2 - Crowsnest Pass - Alberta Side
Source: Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, 1969, p. iii

development within the Pass - one of the major reasons for the eventual development of major historic sites of the Pass.

Within this time frame, the study will review provincial and local historic resource policies and actions and their influence on each other. This study will present some federal historic resource policies and
actions but not to the same depth of review of provincial and local historic resource policies and actions.

Easton's framework for policy analysis was chosen for a number of reasons. First, Easton's framework contained the same general content of both Richard Simeon's(1976) and Leslie Pal's(1987) work while presenting it in terms that were comfortable. Second, both Simeon and
Pal presented their frameworks in very technical terms and in such detail that it was felt that it would only complicate the study. The result was that nothing had been lost through adopting Easton's more simple approach.

Limitations

Data were collected for the review of the provincial historic resource policy base in Edmonton in the various libraries, provincial archives and through interviews. Data for the review of the Crowsnest Pass historic resource policy base and activities were gathered from the provincial archives in Edmonton and various sources in the Crowsnest Pass including council meeting minutes, Ecomuseum Trust meeting minutes and The Crowsnest Pass Historical Society meeting minutes. Although information was also available at the University of Lethbridge Library and the Oldman River Regional Planning Commission Library in Lethbridge, and, the University of Calgary Library and the Glenbow Archives in Calgary, these were not visited due to time constraints. However, they are important sources for future research in this area.

Several aspects of the interviewing process also limited the data type and quality. There were only a few interviewees from the 1960's, the individuals deceased or scattered across Western Canada. Further, certain interviewees had concerns about the study questions. Some subjects the questions touched on were still too sensitive to discuss by one retired senior Department official. Also, currently working senior Department officials declined to answer many questions regarding political decisions of past and present elected officials who had an influence on Department policy.

Outline

Chapter Two develops the study context through a short version of the histories of Alberta and the Crowsnest Pass. In addition, an overview of Alberta's political, economic and demographic situations from 1900 to 1990 is presented. The study of provincial and Crowsnest Pass historic resource policy development up to and including 1962 is also introduced to lead the study into the period 1963 to 1979.

Chapter Three outlines the study methodology. Research concerns are depicted in the first part of the chapter while other sections contain the study purpose, questions and sub-questions, methods of data collection, a description of the data sources and the data analysis techniques and model.

Chapter Four presents a narrative of the development of provincial historic resource policy from 1963 to 1979. Political, economic and demographic factors having an influence on provincial historic resource policy development are reviewed. Finally, as a basis for establishing the influence that the provincial policy base had on Crowsnest Pass policy development, each historic resource program area is studied separately.

Chapter Five provides the review and narrative of Crowsnest Pass historic resource development from 1963 to 1979. Policy development is divided into the more important Crowsnest Pass

Historical Society activities and the minor municipal historic resource policy base. The local historic resource program and activity areas are then separated to determine the influence that Pass policies and activities had on the development of provincial historic resource policy. The final part of this chapter involves the analysis of study data according to Easton's model and the 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' policy influence exerted by provincial and Crowsnest Pass historic resource policies and activities.

Chapter Six presents a summary of the study data and the conclusions drawn. The two policy bases are compared and the influences that each had on the other are outlined. The chapter ends with a discussion of the study implications and some applications for practice and future research.

There are six Appendices to this study. Each Appendix is intended to provide greater detail on certain information areas of the study. As this study provides background information for several other studies of the Crowsnest Pass Ecomuseum, it was felt that as much detail as possible should be preserved.

CHAPTER TWO

Historical Background of Alberta and the Crowsnest Pass

Chapter Two provides the context within which provincial and Crowsnest Pass historic resources policies developed and descriptions of the historic resource policies and activities at those levels. The historical context of Alberta and the Crowsnest Pass is portrayed from 1900 to 1990. The descriptions of historic resources policies introduces the development of historic resource activities at both levels from 1900 to 1962, leading into an examination of each level of historic resource policies in Chapters Four and Five.

Historical Context of Alberta and the Crowsnest Pass

In this historical context, the overall picture of Alberta from the early 1900's to 1990 is presented with an overview of major trends involving the political, economic and demographic areas. Similarly, in the Crowsnest Pass, the overall picture of major trends and circumstances is addressed, though in greater detail because the study centers around the development of municipal public policy and local historic group activities.

Alberta

In Alberta, the main trend which had a major influence on the social and demographic situation was the tremendous increase in provincial revenue from the oil and gas resource industry. After 1947

these revenues enabled provincial governments to reduce Alberta's debt and increase spending on social programming. Prior to the discovery of oil the economy was agriculturally based and suffered through the fluctuations of this market. In 1971 the Progressive Conservative(PC) government further increased oil resource revenues through increased royalties. The resulting increase in funds meant an increase in government investment in all service areas throughout the 1970's.

In the 1980's the dramatic drop and continued fluctuation of the price of oil and gas contributed to a provincial recession. The accompanying program of economic restraint meant a reduction in government spending. The depressed economy had led the government to explore and increase funding in other areas of economic development which meant increased funding in certain areas such as tourism.

Early governing trends in Canada and Alberta emphasized local municipal autonomy and local provision of services to Albertans. However, since acquiring responsibility for an increasing number of social programs in the 1930's, the provincial government had refused to establish local tax-assessment powers beyond local property tax assessments. The result was a widening gap between the revenue collected by municipalities and rising costs of municipal services.[1]

The provincial government's answer was to provide grants to address this municipal funding "shortfall". The grant schemes had previously given more importance to unconditional grants than to conditional grants but in 1973, the PC government reversed this situation and emphasized conditional grants. The resulting lack of municipal autonomy in the 1980's continued to be a serious issue for Alberta's municipalities.

With the resource industry boom from 1947, most Albertans experienced an increase in both disposable income and discretionary free time. Further, industrial development brought about a migration

---

[1]For further detail on municipal policy in Alberta see Appendix B: Municipal Policy in Alberta - 1905 to 1979.

of workers to the larger urban centers. In combination with this, the Social Credit(SC) and PC governments emphasized human resources and quality-of-life issues. The belief was that all Albertans should have the opportunity to develop their potential to the fullest. The role of the government was to provide equality of opportunity. Both governments placed priorities on the development of community leaders and the construction of community facilities.

These forces led to a society which demanded opportunities and overwhelmed existing facilities. The provincial government committed more resources to satisfy these demands, resulting in the increased development of cultural, social, recreational, educational and leisure activities and facilities. The public demand for increased leisure opportunities positively influenced the development of historic resource policies.

Another social trend was a concern for Alberta's identity. The PC government, in line with the Western World's desire to find and develop individual identities, sought to emphasize the preservation and development of Alberta's culture. The initiative included both the protection and preservation of historic and pre-historic resources and the development of fine arts programs of cultural achievement. This development of an Albertan identity once again exerted a positive policy influence on local historic resource policy development and activity.

In demographic terms, the economic boom brought a great increase in population. Provincial industrialization led to urbanization and the result was a major strain on provincial and municipal services for the provision of infrastructure and social programs to combat the effects of urbanization.

The Crowsnest Pass

The Crowsnest Pass is one of three mountain passes in Alberta's Rocky Mountains. The southern most pass of the three, it is located 269 km southwest of Calgary, 125 km west of Lethbridge and 60 km

north of the Montana border along Highway #3.(see map #1 p. 10) Through popular use, the term Crowsnest Pass has included a wide area on either side of the Pass in the provinces of BC and Alberta.[1] Situated mid-way through the Crowsnest Valley on the Alberta side is the Municipal District of Crowsnest Pass - a municipality formed on January 1, 1979 from an amalgamation of municipalities and portions of Improvement District #5.

The origin of the name Crowsnest Pass is unknown though Cousin's research suggests that the name came from ". . . a crowsnest beside the trail."(Cousins, 1981, 15) Whether this name originated with the original native residents or with early explorers is not known. Further, there is no unanimity in the spelling of the name. Cousins uses Crow's Nest Pass for his manuscript while others use a form which is in use today - Crowsnest Pass.(Piercy, 1966; Lake, 1972; Caragata, 1979; Cartlidge, 1980) It is this latter spelling which will be used for this study.

Up to and including 1962, the Crowsnest Pass had a boom and bust economy which dated back to the 1901 development of the coal industry.[2] There were other industries such as lumber, ranching, and lime quarrying but the economic heart and soul remained coal mining.

The rush to stake out and develop coal mines on the Alberta side of the Pass in the early 1900's led to the founding of many small mining towns at the mine heads or as close to the mines as possible. There were very active rivalries between the various mines/towns and the mine owners often heightened these rivalries through sports and other competition financed by the mine owners.

In addition, disagreements between the union sentiments of different mines/towns brought additional differences between the communities. The situation often led to bitterness between the various communities in the Pass - sentiments which carried through into the period 1963 to 1979 and led to an acrimonious relationship between

---

[1]Lake, Cousins and Caragata all use the term to include the eastern side of the Pass in BC and the western side of the Pass in Alberta.

[2]For further detail on Crowsnest Pass history and prehistory prior to 1962 see Appendix C: Crowsnest Pass History Up to and Including 1962.

the Pass communities even though the Pass mines had long since closed.[1]

The development of housing and amenities for the miners was an unwelcome burden for the mine owners who did as little as possible to provide housing and ensure mine safety. To fill the gap between what the mine owners provided and what was truly necessary, the townspeople often banded together in ethnic groups. The groups provided social and recreation facilities such as hospitals, community halls, and skating rinks for their members.

There was friction between different ethnic groups within these towns and the groups tended to stay together within specific areas of each town or in different towns within the Pass. This conflict led to even more resentment between the Pass communities - another reason for the often bitter relations between the communities even in the period 1963 to 1979.

Following the boom period accompanying the rush to "stake out" and develop coal deposits in the Alberta Pass, the coal industry slumped from 1910 to 1916. The advent of World War I brought on a demand for coal for the length of the war but the industry slumped again and struggled into the 1930's. Along with every other industry in Canada, it was to be severely affected by the Great Depression. It began to revive in the mid-to-late 1930's and early 1940's and World War II further spurred the demand for coal.

After World War II the coal industry declined once again and in 1947 suffered an even more serious blow. The discovery of oil at Leduc and the development of natural gas as a home heating fuel meant the loss of the railroads and home heating markets as railroad companies switched to more efficient oil burning engines and the home heating market was taken over by natural gas. The coal industry was in serious trouble and began looking for help but the provincial government, reacting to increasing demand, threw its support behind the oil and gas industry for the greater good of Alberta's economy.

---

[1]For further detail on ethnic groups and town rivalries see Appendix C: Crowsnest Pass History Up To and Including 1962.

An additional concern for the Pass was that the poorer quality and harder-to-mine coal was on the Albertan side and the less efficient mines were closed. In 1957, the last underground coal mine in the Alberta Pass closed down. Miners began to commute to the BC mines for employment. Other Pass industries such as lumbering helped cushion the economic blow but the local economy slumped significantly. Though there was uncertainty about the industry, there was always a feeling that coal would some day come back.(Cousins, 1981, 131)

In the period 1963 to 1979, lobbying by Alberta's coal industry for renewed markets and the development of industrial plants to develop coal by-products continued to fall on deaf ears. As Caragata(1979, 144) explained,

> . . . the provincial government . . . would have nothing to do with demands by the UMW [United Mine Workers Union] that the government encourage the construction of coal by-product plants in coal mining areas.

The industry declined. The opening of the Japanese coal market combined with the energy crisis of the 1970's offered some hope but only served to keep it at a stagnant level.

Secondary industry in the Pass, developed under a Department of Regional Economic Expansion agreement between the Federal government and Alberta, provided some economic diversification. The agreement resulted in the establishment of two new companies - Becker Drilling and Phillips Cable. Subsequent increased employment and economic benefits diminished the impact of the declining coal industry. Miners continued to work in BC mines while Coleman Collieries continued to process coal from the Vicary Creek open-pit mine.

The future looked very bleak for the Pass. In the 1960's, the Pass municipalities, in an effort to eliminate local competition between them, and to streamline administration and attract business, began talking about amalgamating their administrations. They recognized

logical, economic reasons why they should become one unit but the old attitudes of municipal loyalty, competition and animosity intruded to prevent them from taking that final step. It was fifteen years before a referendum on amalgamation took place and was accepted by the townspeople. On January 1, 1979, with special legislation prepared by the provincial government, the municipalities were joined.

It was also during the 1970's that the first attempts at historic resource preservation and development took place. The Crowsnest Pass Citizen's Historical Society(Society) and the Crowsnest Pass Tourism Committee were formed in 1973 with the dual aims of developing the local tourism industry as well as preserving local historic resources. Both were instrumental in the protection of local historic resources though the goal of development of the tourism industry was blocked by the lack of municipal support. The results of local historic resource protection were to be realized in the 1980's with provincial and local municipal support for the development of local and provincially significant historic resources.

The formation of both the Society and the Tourism Committee can be seen as a response to the increasing awareness of historic resource policy development at the provincial level. Between 1971 and 1973 the development of provincial legislation and other policy actions meant increasing opportunities for Pass authorities and groups to become aware of and involved in local historic resource development.

The preservation and development activities of the Society through the 1970's and early 1980's in many ways were influenced by the availability of such provincial initiatives. However, the Society also took advantage of these opportunities to lobby the Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation(and later Alberta Culture) and local authorities for the preservation and eventual development of significant local historic resources. The Department was very much influenced by the strong local support for historic resource preservation and development. This influence was evident through the Society's vigorous lobbying campaign from 1973 to 1985.

From 1980 onwards, optimism that coal would come back died when Coleman Collieries, the final coal operation in the Pass, ceased operations in 1983. Municipal council, realizing that coal was no longer a viable local economic generator, and that attracting other industry was not a reality, decided to promote tourism and the accompanying service industries for economic stimulation. It began historic resource development after recognizing that the Pass had a wealth of historic resources with a fascinating local history. In 1986 members of the council formed the Crowsnest Pass Ecomuseum Trust as an umbrella agency to promote and organize historic resource development. The 1980's drew to a close with the Ecomuseum Trust leading these efforts.

Provincial Policies Prior to 1973

The study of provincial historic resource policies, and factors which had an influence on them, has been broken down into the internal influences on provincial policies and the description of provincial policies. The study of internal influences includes political, economic, and demographic factors while provincial policies are further clarified by examining individual policy areas. The study of provincial policies includes a narrative of historic resource development from the 1920's up to and including 1962.

Internal Influences

Internal influences on provincial historic resource policies include the political, economic and demographic dimensions. The three sections give an overview of significant circumstances and events within each which had an effect on policy development up to 1962.

Political Influence: The roots of cultural/historic resource policy can be found in the long-standing bond among Albertans who suffered through the land-breaking pioneer efforts involved in settling

the province while enduring both the harsh environment and the economic "tyranny" of Eastern Canada big business interests.(Irving, 1959, 235; Barr, 1974, 15) As a result of such discontent with the economic order of things, Albertans turned first to the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) government of 1920 to 1935 and then to the SC government of 1935 to 1971. The PC government responded to this discontent with the very volatile Federal-Albertan confrontation over oil and gas pricing designed "to fan the flames" of Albertan identity.

The SC party came to power in the midst of the 1930's Depression as a result of the lack of effectiveness of the UFA in alleviating the effects of the Depression and resisting the power of big business interests from Eastern Canada. When the SC government introduced social credit theory, Albertans adopted its regime.(Irving, 1959; Barr, 1974)

The backbone of SC philosophy was the government's role to organize its fiscal matters such that no citizen would lack for basic living essentials in the midst of depression. The SC theory maintained that there were sufficient resources for all in this society but that it had been tied up through the present system and simply needed to be redistributed. The SC government promoted a theory of economic development in which everyone had equal right to basic societal needs. Further, it espoused a theory of political participation whereby the citizens were in control of government representatives who were accountable to their electors. It was committed to greater participation of the electorate in the day-to-day running of provincial affairs.(Irving, 1959, 7)

Within this philosophy, personal freedom was acknowledged as the most precious possession an individual could have. By this was meant that individuals should have the means to develop to their greatest potential and the government's role was to provide the security and resources to achieve this goal.(Irving, 1959, 7; Bettison et al, 1975, 73) This underlying theory supported the SC party

throughout its reign of power as it concentrated on providing many human services through a complex set of social programs.

Cultural development and, leading from this, recreation/leisure development, became part of individual development.(Alberta. Department of the Provincial Secretary, Annual Reports 1964-1970) In this lay the seeds of historic resource policy. A natural extension of the belief in individual development was the recognition of the past in the development of a sense of pride, identity and direction for Albertans.

A major factor in the social and economic development of the province was the rapid rise in population after 1947. Urbanization created great demand for recreation/leisure opportunities in the 1950's and 1960's which increased pressure on the SC government for programs and facility development.(Alberta. Department of the Provincial Secretary, Annual Reports 1959-1961; Patrick, 1960)

The SC government, with abundant oil revenues, moved to counter the negative effects of urbanization through the development of many social programs including recreation and leisure facilities, programs and leaders. It may be assumed that one aspect of policies which resulted in the development of leisure facilities and programs was the development of historic resource programs and facilities.

The context within which Alberta's historic resource policies developed was set. Early cultural program development espoused a multicultural component whereby the cultural skills and traditions of the many ethnic groups in Alberta could express and preserve their culture through active means. It was a natural extension of this cultural activity that the preservation of culture should encompass recognition of Alberta's pioneer legacy. This eventually translated into the preservation of historic artifacts and finally, preservation of the historic built environment.

Municipal policy in Alberta was also to have an effect on historic resource development. In Canada, at the turn of the century and into the early 1900's, there was a basic practice of senior government non-interference in local government matters. Different provincial

governments, prior to the 1930's, generally respected this aspect of local government.[1]

However, by the late 1920's and 1930's it became apparent that there would have to be increasing coordination of Alberta's economic development. This was not achieved early at the local level because of competition between municipalities and the increasing lack of local revenue to accomplish social and economic development. Local governments were slowly being overwhelmed by service needs and began calling for a greater share of senior government revenue.

From the early 1920's and 1930's the provincial government began to exert influence on local authorities to control land-development abuses and competition for industry stimulated by local municipal revenue needs. The stage was set for the development of alternative means of provincial influence on local policy.

As requested by the municipalities in the 1930's depression, the provincial government gained control of all local social programs and never relinquished it. After the 1930's local governments were predominantly restricted to land development issues.

Increased demand for local services after World War II was met by increased provincial and federal government conditional and unconditional grants. Provincial influence over local policy became assured with the development of these grant systems and a series of quasi-governmental boards and commissions which regulated development. The provincial government preferred this method of indirect municipal influence to that of legislating direct control.

The municipal funding shortfall, the provincial grant system and the lack of legislated control over municipal land-development had a dual effect on municipalities. First, the "shortfall" led to increasing competition between municipalities for industrial and other developments which led to the very abuse of land development that the provincial government was trying to prevent. Second, the lack of provincially legislated control over municipal land-development

---

[1]For further detail on provincial municipal policy see Appendix B: Municipal Policy in Alberta - 1905 to 1979.

allowed municipal governments the opportunity to continue land-development abuses such as sprawling, uncontrolled growth within municipal boundaries and the practice of waiving municipal taxes for a particular industry to entice it to locate within municipal boundaries.

In the period up to and including 1962, local involvement in historic resource development was limited by the relative unconcern of municipalities for historic resource development due to the limited awareness of the importance of the resources. In addition, municipalities were cash starved with limited resources to meet already identified priorities. The combination of the above two factors meant little or no local government support of local historic resource development.

Economic Influence: Prior to 1947, Alberta's economic situation under the SC government was that of an economy singularly dependant on resource industries, agriculture in particular. The economy was subject to agriculture related problems such as the weather and the price of grain.(Barr, 1974, 17) Further, the 1930's Depression and the immediately following World War II conflict meant delayed economic and social development.

As Bettison et al(1975, 69) observed, from the early part of the 20th century, the federal government's continuing policy of settling the West as quickly as possible led to increasing provincial debt brought on by the provision of municipal services for new residents. From 1935 to 1971, this pressure on municipalities continued as Alberta's urban population soared from 30% to 75% of the total.

After World War II, the SC government resolved to establish a new program for economic and social development.(Post-War Reconstruction Committee, March, 1945; Patrick, no date) The Department of Economic Affairs was created in 1945 to promote and diversify the economy and to look at post-war social/cultural problems confronting the province.(Alberta. Statutes of Alberta. The Department of Economic Affairs Act 1945) Economic diversification was desperately needed and planning was instituted towards this end.

After 1947, an era of great prosperity began. The discovery ensured economic diversification and the resultant development brought with it an influx of business, people and money which changed the face of Alberta. Increased prosperity created a funding "windfall" for social program development.

Provincial programs developed rapidly under the SC government. By 1964 Alberta

> . . . led the nation in per capita spending for education, was second only to Ontario in per capita spending for government generally, and was well above the national average for per capita spending on welfare, health, sanitation, agriculture, forestry, recreation and culture.(Barr, 1974, 133)

All seemed well under the SC government in the 1960's but there were "rumblings" of discontent.

Demographic Influence: In Canada and Alberta, there were significant trends contributing to the emphasis on social and cultural programs within the SC administration. As Marsh and Wall(1982, 2) indicate, the increase in population was one of the most significant trends in the development of demand for outdoor recreation services. Jackson and Dhanani(1984, 87) state that this translated into a demand for outdoor recreation services, historic sites and programs as well.(Edmonton Journal, 1959)[1] Marsh and Wall(1982, 2) cited smaller families, an aging population, increased life expectancy, increased disposable income and discretionary time, and the extension of transportation networks and automobiles as other significant trends. All led to the increase in demands for social and leisure services which put a strain on government resources at the municipal and provincial level.(Alberta. Department of the Provincial Secretary, Annual Reports 1960 - 1970; Alberta. Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation, Annual Reports 1972 to 1975)

---

[1]The author states that the enormous increase in leisure time, huge growth in population, less open space and changed working conditions all promote a fantastic future for recreation.

Alberta's population grew rapidly from 1901 to 1930 due to the federal government's immigration policy of rapid settlement of the West. The period from 1930 to 1947 was one of relatively slow growth as the 1930's Depression and World War II slowed down immigration and settlement. However, with the dramatic discovery of oil, the resulting economic boom brought another rapid population increase. To further add to municipal service problems, most of the increase was in urban centers, while rural areas stayed static or decreased slightly.(see Figure 1, below)

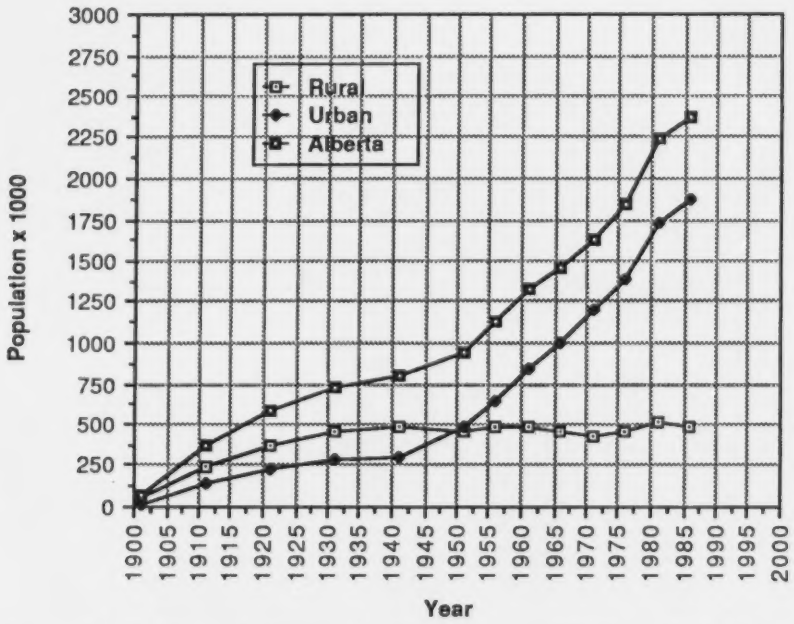


Figure 1. Population of Alberta - 1901 to 1986
(Canada. Department of Trade and Commerce. The Canada Yearbook, 1985)

The results of this rapid urbanization were rapid changes in the social and cultural fabric of Alberta. As Barr(1974, 150) states,

> . . . with urbanization and a tremendous expansion in the province's educational system, came rapid changes in attitudes and

> values. People were becoming 'citified' and secularized. The arrival of widespread prosperity brought with it greater mobility and a tremendous increase in cultural activities.

The tremendous increase in cultural activities was a response to the demand for recreation/leisure in the 1950's and 1960's to which the SC
government responded.(Alberta. Department of the Provincial Secretary, Annual Reports 1959-1961; Patrick, 1960)

Another population trend of concern was the growing number of youth in proportion to other population groups in Canada - the "baby boom".(Strom, 1971) In 1956 the median age was 27.4 years and by 1961 it had dropped to 26.5 years. The growing number of young people in relation to other age groupings, together with the social and economic challenges facing them, resulted in the establishment of special services for youth - recreation and cultural included.(McFarland, 1970, 68)

Historic Resource Policies

Provincial historic resource policy and legislation covering provincial actions from the early years of the province was scattered between several different Acts administered by different government Departments. Historic resource policy had its beginnings in the tourism, culture, and parks areas.

The first legislation involving historic resource policy was passed in 1907 in the form of an Act to Incorporate the Historical Society of Alberta.(Alberta. Statutes of Alberta) The Act served to legitimize the Historical Society of Alberta which continued to work in a low-key manner for historic resource preservation concerns to this day.

Other early government action involving historic resource preservation included An Act respecting the Preservation of Public Documents in 1925.(Alberta. Statutes of Alberta) In this first archival Act was a limited definition of a public document and provision for the preservation of these public documents for ten years

after coming into existence or until their destruction or transfer to the provincial archives. It also established the ability of the Government to order any class or series of documents transferred to the provincial archives.

The provincial librarian had been entrusted with the province's first important documents and the provincial library operated as the first archival storage facility. The collection of significant government documents had been unofficially operating through Sir Cecil Denny, the first provincial librarian, and the Act legitimized this process.

Further government action occurred in the late 1920's, when it came to the attention of the legislature that certain historic resources were being destroyed by vandals, in particular the cave paintings at present day Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park. The Provincial government, in the 1930 Provincial Parks and Protected Areas Act, included a clause for the protection and preservation of historic sites.(Alberta. Statutes of Alberta)

Using this Act the provincial government established Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park to include the cave paintings and an old North West Mounted Police post. This was the first instance of the government using this protective piece of legislation though little change in the preservation/protection of either resource was evident. (Mason, 1988, 87) The preservation/protection of the site was limited by lack of funds.

The next action concerning historic resource policy development occurred in 1945 with the formation of the Alberta Post-war Reconstruction Committee with a mandate to outline a provincial strategy for economic, social, and cultural development. The Committee identified the tourist industry as having the most potential for development. Further, its Sub-committee on Education recommended that the provincial government establish a provincial museum and archives in old Government House in recognition of stirring public interest.(Post-War Reconstruction Committee, 1945, 27)

It was with reference to the material gathered by Denny that an Archives Sub-Committee of the Post-War Reconstruction Committee made recommendations for:

> (a) the registration and preservation of official public records;
> (b) the collection and preservation of historical records;
> (c) the collection and preservation of museum materials.(Post-War Reconstruction Committee, 1945, 34)

The Education Sub-Committee of the Post-War Reconstruction Committee followed up the Archival Committee's report to recommend establishing a provincial archives and archivist.

In response to the recommendations of the Post-war Reconstruction Committee the Department of Economic Affairs was set up in 1945.(Alberta. Statutes of Alberta. An Act for the Establishment of a Department of Economic Affairs)[1] The SC government followed this initiative with the passage of An Act to Promote the Cultural Development of Alberta,1946. The development of these initiatives recognized that the history and cultural background of Alberta was important and worthy of preservation and development.

In 1951, continued public pressure for the creation and development of parks led to An Act respecting Provincial Parks. It provided significant improvements in the protection of Alberta's historic resources. The new powers included the regulation of fossil excavation within a public park, the ability to declare any structure, thing or natural object in Alberta to be "an historic object" worthy of protection, and the ability to make regulations governing exploration and excavation for fossils and other objects of "geological, ethnological, historical or scientific interest".(Section 8-1)

In the Act the SC government included a provision for the protection and regulation of activity surrounding historic resources,

---

[1]Section 6 of the Act read, "It shall be the duty of the Minister to further and encourage orderly economic, cultural and social development for the betterment of the people of the Province."

including penalties. However, again, budget limitations meant that there was difficulty in purchasing sites and no protection of the resource once a site had been purchased. Historic site acquisition was not a priority because most sites were on private land and purchase was necessary.(Mason, 1988, 111) The lack of regulations to control the excavation of archaeological/historical objects was also indicative of the low priority of protection and development.

The period 1951 to 1964 was described as a significant era for the historic sites segment of the provincial parks system in Alberta.(Mason, 1988, 111) In 1953, utilizing a Department of Industry and Development industrial sign program for Alberta's communities, a rustic historic sign program was begun by the Department of Industry and Development's Publicity Branch. The program placed emphasis on rustic historic highway signs to convey historic information to motorists to enhance the tourist industry. From 1953 to 1962, sixty-one signs were erected and maintained by the Department of Highways.

Alberta's fiftieth anniversary in 1955 spurred the development of historic resource action locally and provincially as Albertans became aware of their history.(Patrick, no date) The Department of Lands and Forests increased its purchase of historic sites.(Mason, 1988, 112)[1]

A small restoration and reconstruction program was begun in 1956 when Cabinet established the Cabinet Historic Committee to plan government participation in historic sites development. The committee allocated $25,000 annually for ". . . the development, restoration and preservation of historic sites."(Alberta. Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation, Interim Guidelines for Historic Sites Programme, 56) The maximum expenditure for any one site was not to exceed $2,000.

---

[1]Mason stated that in 1955 negotiations began for three sites, in 1957 one site was established, in 1959 three sites were established, in 1960/61 five sites were established, and in 1961/62 four sites were established. By 1964, nineteen sites had been created under the Act.

In 1956, the St. Charles Mission at Dunvegan was acquired, restored and turned over to the Department of Public Works for interpretation and maintenance and a reconstructed fort/museum was erected at Fort Mcleod from 1957 to 1959 and then turned over to a local organization. Smaller local projects, including marking and restoration, were supported through small grants.

In 1958, the Cabinet Historic Committee began purchasing early fur trade post sites and marking them with concrete cairns and bronze plaques. A budget of $15,000 was allocated for both the marking program and the highway rustic sign program.

The historic site restoration, acquisition and marking programs were administered by the Government Travel Bureau of the Department of Industry and Development. The historic sites were turned over to the Provincial Parks Branch under the Provincial Parks Act of 1951. Through this program, from 1959 to 1962, seventeen sites were acquired and thirty-three cairns constructed.(Alberta. Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation, Interim Guidelines for Historic Sites Programme, 56) The Alberta Travel Bureau further promoted historic sites and tourism through the development of a booklet entitled Historic Sites in Alberta.

Within the structure of the Alberta Travel Bureau an Historical Advisory Board was formed to advise the Cabinet Historic Committee on historic sites matters. In the early 1960's this Board was taken over by the Museums Development Branch of the Provincial Secretary's Department.

Government action in support of historic resource policies continued into the early 1960's with continuing revision of the policy. In 1960, continued attempts to upgrade archival policy called for the establishment of a provincial archives and thus increased activity in collecting and preserving archival material. E.S. Bryant(no date,1960), first chairman of the Historical Advisory Board, put together a paper called the Preservation of Provincial Government Documents. The document recommended establishing an official government policy of archiving public records.

In 1961, Provincial Secretary Russell Patrick presented a bill for the preservation and development of historic resources in Alberta. (Alberta. Department of the Provincial Secretary, Bill 60, The Historical and Archaeological Sites Protection Act.) However, there was considerable opposition to the bill as drafted and it was withdrawn after first reading.(Hughes, 1963)[1] In its place an amendment to the Provincial Parks Act was undertaken with the addition of enhanced historic resource protection and preservation sections.(Alberta. Statutes of Alberta. An Act to amend The Provincial Parks Act, 1961)

In the amendment, new sections defined historic sites and established the power of the minister to establish historic sites by purchase or expropriation.(Section 5) This Act signalled the beginning of legislative recognition that the preservation of historic resources in the province could preempt the property rights of individual citizens. However, this aspect of the legislation was rarely used. Finally, the Act provided for the protection of historic sites from action under any other Act.(Section 4)

The 1955 anniversary celebrations also stimulated cultural development policies. The SC government decided to further support cultural development within Alberta by increasing cultural grants and formalizing the cultural grants process. It passed An Act to amend The Department of Economic Affairs Act, 1955 in which the Minister was given the power to give grants from moneys appropriated from general revenues

> . . . in an amount not exceeding two thousand dollars to encourage or assist the industrial, economic, cultural or social development of the Province or of any person or persons within the Province.

---

[1]The memo stated that the bill was withdrawn because "Dr. L.A. Bayrock, President of the Archaeological Society of Alberta, and Dr. R.G. Forbis of Glenbow Foundation insisted that the Bill should contain certain provisions that the Government considered completely impractical, and Dr. Forbis suggested that the Bill be held over unless these provisions were included."

Further, An Act to amend the Cultural Development Act, 1955 provided support for cultural development through the

> . . . provision of grants, scholarships, or contributions . . . for any purpose that will encourage or assist the cultural development of the Province.(Section 8)

In 1958 further stimulation of cultural development in Alberta occurred as the SC government announced a Five Year Plan of community and provincial projects as a means of sharing provincial revenues. The projects included the improvement of community recreation and cultural facilities and the development of a Provincial Museum.(Patrick, 1960) The Plan accelerated the development of Alberta's recreation, cultural and historic resource policies.

In 1962 the development of cultural and recreation policies continued with the establishment of a Museums Branch of the Provincial Secretary's Department accompanied by increases in staffing and budget.(Alberta. Statutes of Alberta. An Act to amend The Cultural Development Act 1961)[1] In 1962 also, R.O. Harrison was hired as museum consultant to take over the development of the provincial museum.

The hiring of R. O. Harrison was to have a profound effect on the development of historic resource policies in the 1960's and 1970's. Travelling about the world as a young man, Harrison, an architect and planner, was searching for his destiny. He had a genuine interest in history and a fascination for artifacts and historic buildings of all kinds, a passion which had been apparent from his boyhood.(Harrison, 1990) An extensive tour of museums, art galleries, and historic sites in the Britain and Europe in 1954-55 convinced Harrison that his career lay in the historic resources development field. He became determined to study and enter the field in Canada, his adopted country.

---

[1]A further amendment to the Cultural Amendment Act in 1962 expanded the culture and recreation policy areas again while enabling the minister to hire further staff and provide further funds to develop additional programs.

Harrison entered the historic resources field in BC through a number of historic projects including the Vancouver Maritime Museum where he worked on the preservation of the St. Roche - the BC centennial project. During his work in that province, Harrison became intrigued by the concept of an holistic approach to the development of heritage resources. He stated,

> To me museums of all types, historic sites, archives, and art galleries, as well as libraries, and even planetariums, aquariums, and botanic gardens, were all part of the cultural heritage and institutions of a city, a province, or a nation. In fact, I suppose I had a passion for things cultural in their broadest sense, including the performing arts and libraries. There was a visible unity amongst all these cultural and heritage resources, and I felt increasingly that whether at the municipal, provincial, or national level, there was a good case for developing coordinated policies, programmes, and organization, around a unified concept and hopefully achieving some balance.
>
> Accordingly, up to the end of 1959, I conducted extensive research into this topic, especially focussing on examples amongst city, county, and state agencies in the USA. . . . Extensive correspondence, amassing a considerable library of relevant materials, tours across Canada and USA, and meetings with leading directors and others, led me to a personal conviction that there were possibilities for applying a unified approach in Canada.(Harrison, 1992)

Harrison cast about for further opportunities to put this concept and his newly acquired skills to the test. He found employment in the new Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History and continued his study and research through the American Association for State and Local History. Harrison(1992) stated,

> Personal contacts with some of the leading people in USA in many fields of historical resource development . . . expanded my understanding and provided the basis for much I was to achieve later. The state historical agencies continued to have an important influence on my thinking.

In 1962 the Alberta government began looking for a consultant to develop its Provincial Museum and Archives. Harrison obtained the position and brought his vision of holistic development both to the project and historic resource development in Alberta. Harrison stated,

> . . . I had some quite definite objectives in seeking an appointment somewhere in the heritage field in Canada. Firstly, I wanted to be able to develop a major institution. Secondly I wanted to develop a comprehensive heritage resource system. For Alberta, in the first instance this meant developing a Provincial Museum and a Provincial Archives, with historic sites initially being a minor part; while in the second instance I had in mind eventually a comprehensive heritage resource agency of which the former would be a part (amongst others, I was especially interest in the Pennsylvania model). Thus in due course I envisioned a provincial museum and archives serving the province, a complex of historic sites, an archaeological programme, a network of local museums, and a parks interpretive programme.

With the appointment of Harrison, the development of historic resource policy began to quicken and led to the very significant 1963 to 1979 period of historic resource policy development.

Crowsnest Pass Policies Prior to 1973

This section has been broken down into the internal situation of the Crowsnest Pass and Crowsnest Pass historic resource activities. The study of the internal situation includes political, economic, and demographic factors.

Internal Influences

The study of the internal environment includes the political, economic and demographic dimensions. The three sections give an

overview of significant circumstances and events within each area up to and including 1962.

Political Circumstances: The early Pass communities were heavily influenced by coal mining, the industry being the dominant employer in the region. Mining companies often built communities close to the mine-head due to difficult transportation in the Pass. However, the provision of housing and utilities was costly and the services provided were minimal. Other amenities such as hospitals and recreation/social facilities were sometimes provided by coal companies but more often by benevolent ethnic societies for their members.[1]

The Pass municipalities were politically independent of each other despite their almost continuous physical settlement pattern.(see map #3, Appendix A, p. 193) There was intense competition socially, economically and politically which stemmed from their birth as company towns with strong ethnic neighborhoods. The economic rivalry between the companies which founded the towns extended to fierce worker loyalty and thus town loyalty. Further, there was real discrimination between ethnic groups which tended to congregate within distinct sections of the different towns.

The Alberta Pass communities included the incorporated towns of Blairmore and Coleman, the incorporated villages of Bellevue and Frank, the unincorporated hamlets of Hillcrest, Carbondale, Willowdrive, East Coleman, Graftontown, Sentinel and Crowsnest within ID#10 (administered to by the Department of Municipal Affairs).[2] The chief rivalries were between the larger Pass communities who competed with each other for various Pass-wide amenities and the development of industry within their corporate limits.

---

[1]For more information about these benevolent ethnic societies see Appendix C: Crowsnest Pass History Up To and Including 1962.

[2]Blairmore incorporated as a village in 1901 and as a town in 1911. Coleman incorporated as a village in 1904 and as a town in 1910.

Economic Influence: The Pass economy was dominated by the coal industry. Other Pass industries such as lumbering, gas pipeline and gas production, never reached the same economic significance. In consequence, as the fortunes of the coal industry went so did the local economy.

Throughout its history, the coal industry was subject to severe fluctuations according to provincial, national and international demand.[1] From 1901 onwards, the coal industry was subject to alternate periods of relative prosperity and depression. The Pass coal mining operations had been over-developed in anticipation of great demand from the BC smelting industry which had itself been over-developed. The result was a lack of demand and a "glut" of coal.

This situation continued until the 1940's when the stagnant coal industry was struck a serious blow with the discovery of oil. The railroads switched to oil burning engines and the home heating market was lost as natural gas replaced coal. In the 1950's the less efficient coal mines in the Pass shut down.

The Pass economy struggled through the 1950's and early 1960's with other industry expanding to ease the local depression. However, despite attempts to lobby the provincial government to assist the coal industry and attract other industry, the local economy continued in its depressed state.

To complicate matters the Pass municipalities had gradually fallen further behind the rest of the province for municipal services development and had become a concern to both the federal and provincial governments. The quality of all Pass municipal services presumably was lower than most Albertan municipalities.[2] In

---

[1]For further detail on coal mining in the Pass see Appendix C: Crowsnest Pass History Up to and Including 1962.

[2]The author assumes that Pass utilities were of lesser quality than the norm in most Albertan communities because of the significant lack of basic municipal services in most Pass communities except Blairmore and Coleman. As stated in one study ". . . the deterioration of the residential environment demands positive action to improve the living conditions of the Pass residents."(Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, Crowsnest Pass Subregional Plan - Characteristics, Problems, Proposals, 1969, 49). Further, other comments indicate that the area could suffer serious health problems emanating from industrial and domestic sources of pollution as well as urban

addition, most Pass municipalities had accumulated heavy debts to maintain or upgrade what limited services they could provide. The situation sparked bitter intermunicipal competition to attract both business/industry and residents so as to maintain a satisfactory level of services.

Demographic Influence: In the Pass, the question of determining population size is a problem because many residents lived outside municipal limits and were never included or were estimated.(Cousins, 1981, 119; Jamieson, 1986, 8) With the advent of municipal grants, many based on population, it was to the advantage of municipalities who suspected that their populations had dropped to make estimates during the years between official census taking.

The Oldman River Planning Region, within which the Pass was located, was largely agricultural based and, since 1956, had a slower growth rate due to an out-migration of agricultural workers. Urbanization was an increasing force in the region. From 1911 to 1961 the Pass had population growth rates slower than average for both Alberta and Canada.(Canada 153%, Alberta 256% and Oldman River Region 99%)(Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. Regional Study 1 - Population. 26/27)

In the Pass, there was explosive growth from 1901 to 1911 due to coal industry development. The population increased from 273 to 5,352 as a result of the rapid influx of claim developers.(see Figure 2, p. 41) With the economic crash brought about by the "bottoming out" of foreign investment funding and the collapse of the coking market, the population increase slowed. The war years demand for coal meant limited prosperity for a time and between 1911 and 1921 the Pass population increased from 5,352 to 6,893, an increase of 1,541(29%).

After 1921, with the Pass recession stretching from the 1920's to the mid 1930's, population growth slowed with an increase of

---

blight.(Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, The Haves and Have-Nots: A Comment on Land Use Planning and Political Amalgamation in the Crowsnest Pass. 1973, 1 - 4)

834(11.88%) between 1921 and 1941. With the increased demand for coking coal from the mid 1930's to the mid 1940's and the advent of World War II, the population of the region showed an increase of 1,100(14.2%) from 1941 to 1951, indicating a healthier economy.

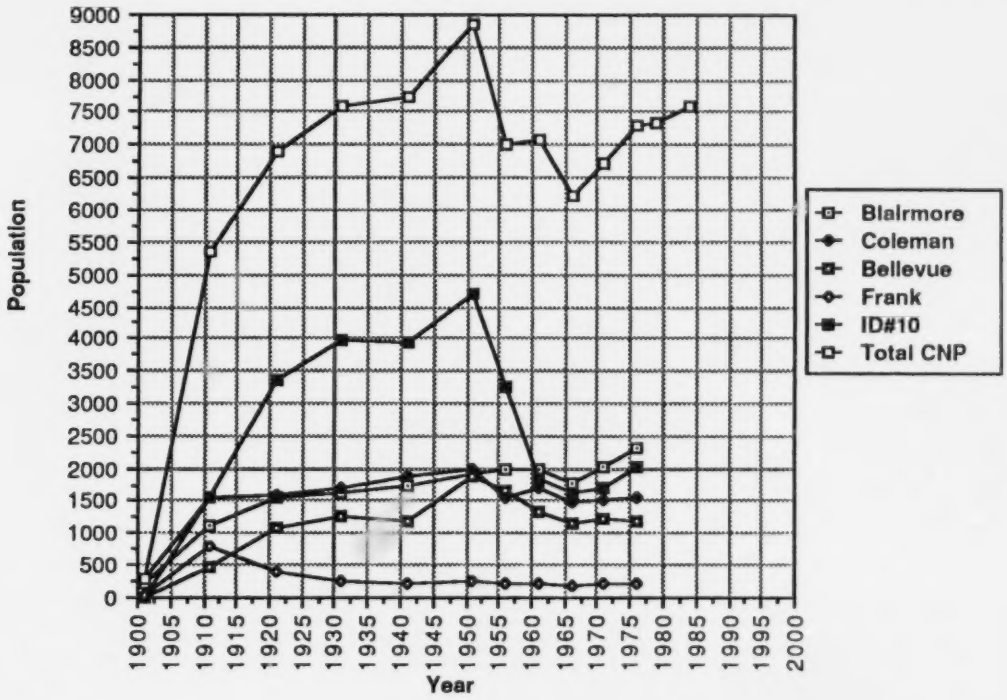


Figure 2. Crowsnest Pass Population - 1901 to 1984

(Lake, D.W.,1971, 62; Alberta. Department of Municipal Affairs, Municipal Counsellor, 1961 to 1979; Jamieson, 1986, 5)[1]

The discovery of oil in 1947 was a tremendous blow to the Pass economy. This was reflected in population figures which fell dramatically from 1951 to 1956, a loss of 1,820(20.56%). The

[1]The three sources represent a collaboration of statistics. The Lake data provides figures from 1901 to 1971. The Oldman River Regional Planning Commission data provide figures from 1961 to 1979. The overlapping data from 1961 to 1971 correspond exactly indicating the same data sources. The overlapping Jamieson data correspond to the Oldman River Regional Planning Commission data, again indicating the same data sources.

population from 1956 to 1961 was to remain stable with a rise of only 54(.8%) and then to plummet once again from 1961 to 1966 by 864(12.2%). Overall, from 1951 to 1966 the drop in population was 2,630(31.96%). The drop was directly attributable to the local economic crash.

The stagnant economy contributed to the preservation of Pass historic structures due to the lack of any housing or industrial development pressure. Both the industrial and housing stock were often left in original condition while owners waited for economic recovery. Many structures reverted to municipal control due to abandonment while others were simply demolished by their owners.

Consistent with other municipalities throughout Alberta, Pass municipalities relied on the provincial and federal governments for grants to supplement provision of services. They were located within an economically depressed region with a shrinking population and thus a shrinking residential tax base. Up to and including 1962 the Pass municipalities continued to compete among themselves and with other Albertan municipalities for industry and residents.

Historic Resource Activities

Up to and including 1962 local historic resource activity was non-existent. The Pass municipalities, like most others, remained unaware of the value of local historic resources and had not articulated the desire to preserve local historic artifacts or sites.

Summary

Alberta had three major influences towards the development of historic resources policy: (1) Social Credit Theory which promoted social and cultural policy development, (2) windfall revenues from the development of the oil industry after 1947, and (3) an increasing

population which prompted major social and cultural program development.

The data from the period prior to 1963 indicate little substantial provincial historic resource policy/activity. However, there was an increased awareness of Alberta's history after 1955 and further, though minor, attempts at preservation and development. Alberta was a young province with little evidence of history in the form of the historic built environment. In addition, there was little guidance for history resource policy development as trained personnel had to be imported for program development. Most of the historic resource development activity was initiated around 1955 as a response to Alberta's fiftieth anniversary. This increased public awareness of Alberta's history initiated local attempts to preserve local historic resources. Thus early historic resource policy development, including the 1958 decision to develop a provincial museum for Alberta, was increasingly driven by public demand.

In the late 1950's and early 1960's, provincial historic resource action included the decision to develop the provincial museum and, to facilitate this, the hiring of a museum consultant. The decision to develop the museum was made in the interests of satisfying public demand and utilizing increasing revenues. This further increased awareness of Alberta's history and historic resource policies continued to develop at the local and provincial levels. R.O. Harrison, as museums consultant for the development of the Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta, brought a holistic vision of the overall development of historic resources in Alberta to the position and began an important contribution to the development of the field in Alberta.

The Crowsnest Pass also had a major stimulus towards the development of Pass historic resources - the poor local economy. Due to a lack of economic development, there were no development pressures placed on residential and commercial structures. This situation was to ensure the existence of resources for preservation after 1973. However, Crowsnest Pass historic resource policy development was non-existent during this time period.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

This chapter outlines the study methodology. The historical data collection technique is presented in the section Research Concerns and the research techniques are indicated in the Research Questions, Methods of Data Collection, Data Sources, and Data Analysis sections.

Research Concerns

The historical research method was used in this study. The presentation of history means creating a pattern out of a muddled mass of data. In this study, the relevant repositories of historical data were examined for such facts which were presented in this manner.

Barzun and Graff(1985, 51) state that the historian is in need of imagination in the process of presenting an historical account and an "imaginative sympathy" for and with the individuals being studied. This means being sympathetic to the viewpoints of the individuals in question in order to recreate as closely as possible the situation under study.

The study questions guided the study direction and indicated any inclinations regarding bias that were present. Any deviation from this indicated direction was due to the data and the pattern that they presented. As Tuchman(1981, 23) says, "If the historian will submit himself *to* his material instead of trying to impose himself *on* his material, then the material will ultimately speak to him and supply the answers."

Research Questions

The following questions gave specific direction to the study.

Question #1 - What circumstances, events and issues influenced Alberta's historic resources policy development?

Sub-question 1A: What was the historic development of municipal policy in Alberta?

Sub-question 1B: What political, economic and demographic trends influenced economic development in Alberta?

Question #2 - What circumstances, events and issues influenced Crowsnest Pass historic resources policy development?

Sub-question 2A: What was the historic development of municipal policy in the Crowsnest Pass?

Sub-question 2B: What political, economic and demographic trends influenced economic development in the Crowsnest Pass?

Methods of Data Collection

Document analysis and interviewing were the two methods of data collection used for the study. Documentary data collection involved the review of written materials from both primary and secondary sources. Interview data collection involved taped interviews with officials from the provincial and local municipal authorities.

Documents

Written materials form the bulk of the data. The materials were classified into Primary and Secondary sources. Primary sources ". . . are defined as those documents in which the individual describing the event was present when it occurred."(Borg and Gall, 1983, 807) The Primary sources of documentary data were the Alberta Hansard,

council meeting minutes from Coleman, Blairmore and Frank, Crowsnest Pass Historical Society meeting minutes, and personal correspondence and memoranda from local and provincial officials.

Secondary sources ". . . are documents in which the individual describing the event was not present but obtained his description from someone else, who may or may not have directly observed the event."(Borg and Gall, 1983, 807) The Secondary sources of documentary data were journal articles, newspaper articles, policy documents, legislation and regulations, and local by-laws.

Tertiary sources were census, social statistical and economic data reports as compiled from other data sources.

Interviews

Interviewing was an important source of primary data for the study. It served two major purposes: First, it filled information gaps which became apparent during data collection, and, second, an interview could verify the validity of other data.

The interviews were semi-structured with a series of set and open-ended questions. The interviewee was also asked for personal opinions and observations of the events in question. All individuals interviewed were assured that their responses would be confidential if they so chose.

Some interviewees declined to have their interviews taped or recorded in any manner and chose not to answer certain questions. A few individuals asked for the tape recorder to be turned off while answering questions on topics they thought still sensitive. All requests for confidentiality were complied with. The confidential data served to identify further data sources and to clarify existing data. Most interviewees were given the questions a week to two weeks before the interview though time limitations sometimes prevented this. However, a number of interviewees were either too busy to review the questions or forgot to review them before the interview. With those individuals

not given the questions in advance, interviews were initiated based on previous day interviews.

The interviewees were also asked to gather documentary information which they felt would be of significance to the study. Some important data were gathered in this manner. However, one or two individuals were too busy to search for the relevant documentation.

Data Sources

The historical overview of Alberta, being very general in nature, was compiled from various selections within other relevant publications. For example, Bairstow and Associates Consulting Ltd.(1981) and Bettison et al(1975) examined the relevant economic issues affecting provincial and municipal revenue sharing. Both presented general overviews of Alberta's political and economic development from the early 1900's to the 1980's and the economic interaction between the two levels of government.

Barr(1974) and Irving(1959), within the context of Alberta's Social Credit movement, provided additional general comment on Alberta's economic development. It was also important to establish a connection between Alberta's economic and social development. Barr and Irving(as well as others) provided good commentary for this purpose.

The historical overview of the Pass used three studies in particular - Cousins(1952), Lake(1972), and the Crowsnest Pass Historical Society Committee(1980). All three provided information dating to the origins of Pass settlements. The Crowsnest Pass Historical Society Committee publication provided the pre-history and a physical description of the Pass. In addition, other studies by Caragata(1979), Piercy(1966), Jamieson(1986 and 1987), and Cartlidge(1980) provided additional historical data.

In reviewing external and internal influences on provincial policies, the University of Alberta, the Department of Culture and

Multiculturalism, the Legislature, and the Department of Municipal Affairs libraries were visited for material in the form of Legislation and regulations, policy documents, white papers, annual reports, census data, statistical reports and budget materials. The Provincial Archives was a rich source of policy documents and memoranda from various senior civil servants and ministers from the 1950's onwards.

The subject of provincial municipal policy was a blend of commentary from a number of authors who had studied federal, provincial and municipal interaction. Bettison et al(1975) and Masson(1985) in particular were important sources of information on the politics of federal, provincial and municipal interaction. Other authors such as Stelter and Artibise(1984), Magnusson and Sancton(1983), and Taylor(1984) served to validate and supplement Masson and Bettison's data.

Specific commentary on Alberta's historic resource policies was limited. Most of the information was obtained from legislation and regulations, policy documents, memoranda from various senior civil servants, and personal interviews. One important source of commentary was Marc Denhez(1978), author and legal consultant, who critiqued the general effectiveness of Alberta's historic resource legislation and regulations to 1978. Annual reports from the 1950's to the 1980's gave an overview of Alberta's historic resource policies while specific comments came from memoranda, meeting minutes of the Historical Advisory Committee and interviews with specific senior civil servants and one minister.

Among those interviewed were Assistant Deputy Ministers(ADM) Walter Kaasa and Raymond Harrison who commented on the early period of historic resource development from the mid 1950's to the mid 1970's. Minister Horst Schmid, of the Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation, and ADM's John Lunn and William Byrne as well as senior civil servants Fritz Pannekoek, Les Hurt and William Tracy provided insight on historic resource policies from the early 1970's through the 1980's into the 1990's.

Harrison provided valuable information on the development of early provincial historic resource policies from 1963 to 1972. Along with Schmid, he provided important commentary on the development of the seminal 1973 Alberta Heritage Act and the circumstances surrounding its creation and further development. Vuchnich's study(1980) on the Environment Conservation Authority was also instrumental in discerning the political circumstances surrounding the development of the 1973 Alberta Heritage Act.

Crowsnest Pass historic resource policies and activities were examined through materials obtained from the Provincial Archives, the meeting minutes of the Crowsnest Pass Citizen's Historical Society(Society) from 1971 to 1984, and information from the Crowsnest Pass Historical Society Committee's book Crowsnest and Its People. In addition, council meeting minutes of Coleman, Blairmore and Frank were examined for municipal policies regarding historic resource development from 1963 to 1979.

An interview with Town Administrator John Kapalka provided the context for municipal influences on local historic resource development from the early 1970's into the 1980's. To supplement this, materials in the form of policy documents, amalgamation committee meeting minutes, and various other letters, personal notes, and memoranda from the early 1970's to 1979 were gained from Fred Bradley, MLA for Pincher-Creek/Crowsnest Pass riding from 1975 until the present. The materials produced important information on the local economic, social and political situation from the mid 1960's to 1979.

Interviews with Pannekoek(1990), Hurt(1990) and Tracy(1990) provided the provincial view of interaction between the Department of Culture and Pass municipalities in the late 1970's and 1980's. The interview with Bradley(1990) also gave valuable information on municipal/provincial interaction in local historic resource development. Bradley's interview, along with the interview of Anne Spatuk(1990), president of the Crowsnest Pass Historical Society from

1975 to 1992, provided most of the information on further Pass historic resource activity.

For analysis, it was necessary to divide local historic resource interaction into Municipal Government policies and Society activities. The local municipalities chose only peripheral involvement in local historic resource policy development until the mid 1980's with the result that minimal municipal historic resource policy development was recorded prior to 1985. The Society activities formed the vast majority of local historic resource activity prior to 1985. The bulk of the information gathered on local historic resource activities from 1973 to 1985 was gathered from the meeting minutes of the Society, various local newspaper articles, and interviews.

Various statistical information gathered to support study findings was obtained through a search of several libraries. Provincial census data were gathered from the University of Alberta Population Laboratory/Library while Crowsnest Pass census data were gathered from the Department of Municipal Affairs Library. Finally, data on government Department expenditures on historic and cultural resource development were gathered at the Alberta Treasury Department Library.

Data Analysis

The analysis is presented at three levels: (1) External and Internal criticism, (2) Easton's Systems Theory of Political Behavior, and (3) The Policy Development Process. The external and internal criticism section addresses the validity of the data through questions about the truthfulness of the sources and data. The section on Easton's Systems Theory deals with organization and analysis of the data according to Easton's theoretical terminology. Section three is integral to the study as it deals with the determination of the direction of historic resource policy development and thus the influences on each policy base. Policy/actions at the Pass(local) level are sometimes described as a direct influence on Provincial policy decisions('bottom-

up') and policy/actions at the provincial level are sometimes determined as a direct influence on Crowsnest Pass policy/actions('top-down').

External and Internal Criticism

On the first level of data analysis, each source was subjected to external and internal historical criticism.

> In external criticism the researcher raises a number of questions about the nature of the historical source. Is it genuine? Is it the original copy? Who wrote it? When? Under what conditions?(Borg and Gall, 1983, 815)

The materials of this study were examined with these thoughts and questions in mind. When compiling and telling the story, documents, events and accounts of events were compared with each other to establish the validity of each item of historical fact.

Internal criticism

> . . . involves evaluating the accuracy and worth of the statements contained in an historical document. In examining the statements, the researcher needs to ask himself such critical questions as, Is it probable that people would act in the way described by the writer? Is it physically possible for events to have occurred this quickly?(Borg and Gall, 1983, 817)

Once again, the study materials were examined with these questions in mind.

The decision-rule of the study - that each historical fact was to be verified with at least one other independent historical source - addressed both external and internal historical criticism questions.

Easton's Systems Theory of Political Behavior

The second level of analysis involves Easton's framework of analysis of the political system. The data collected were classified

according to the terminology of Easton's Systems Model of Political Behavior.(Easton, 1965, 112)

Easton's theoretical approach describes a political system embedded in an overall societal system. The political system is constantly bombarded with and by interactions from the environment. (see Figure 3, below) It responds to inputs from the environment to create outputs. Such inputs are influences in the environment which act on the internal processes of the political system. The system is self-regulating through feedback on its outputs or decisions and actions.

There are many inputs and Easton classifies them into demands and support. Both of these categories of inputs can occur within and outside of the political system. Those demands and supports which originate within the system are 'withinputs'.

Outputs of the system are interactions which affect the environment. The term 'outputs' is restricted by Easton to those interactions concerning the authoritative allocation of resources and the binding decisions and actions related to the formation and implementation of these resources.

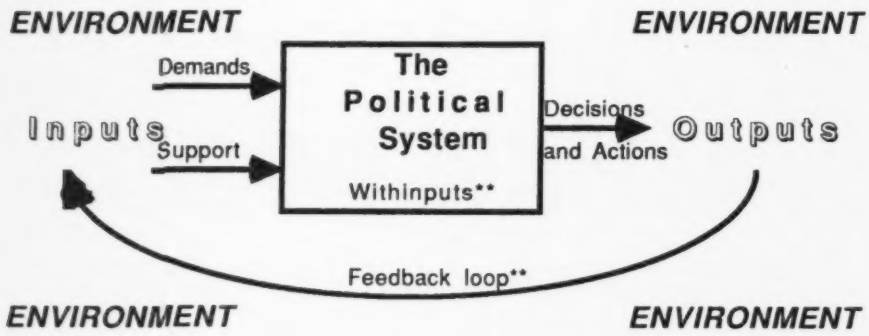


Figure 3. A Simplified Model of a Political System.
(Source: Easton, 1965, 112)
** The words "Feedback Loop" and "Withinputs" were added to the model for clarification.

For this study, the environment is the context for historic resource policy. The trends within the environment and the influence generated by different groups and individuals are inputs which have an impact on the political system. Those influences generated within the political system which have an impact on the development of legislation and government action are withinputs. The legislation, accompanying regulations, and other governmental actions such as the allocation of resources in response to environmental demands are called outputs. Finally, the response that the government discerns as a reaction to outputs, and which is used to create new outputs, is feedback.

In its application, Easton's framework provides a means of identifying and classifying the system components. As a means of understanding the interactions surrounding the development of provincial and municipal historic resource policy development and the Crowsnest Pass Historical Society's historic resource activities, the actions were placed in Easton's categories within the political system.

Historic resources preservation activities were also compared to policy outlined in legislation and policy papers. The object of this was to determine to what extent legislation and government policy statements were delivered to the historic resource policy field. To determine this fact, the intent of the legislation was examined and compared with actual implementation through both regulations and Departmental budgetary allocations of resources through specific historic resource programs.

The Policy Development Process

The third level of analysis of historic resource policy development was accomplished by determining whether individual policy initiatives were 'top-down' or 'bottom-up'. In particular, 'top-down' policy development referred to policy decisions which were initiated in the upper levels of government(Minister, Deputy Minister, Assistant Deputy Minister, and Senior Civil Servant levels). The

policy made at this level were then sent to lower government levels to be elaborated and then implemented by the Department.

'Bottom-up' policy development refers to policy initiatives from outside government or at lower levels of government. These were refined and sent to the upper levels for approval/comment. In many instances this meant that the Department was giving official sanction and further support to already existing community practices or responding to community demand for government action and support.

Summary

The study is an historical analytical study, utilizing historical research techniques to determine past policy statements and actions in support of historic resource policy development while analyzing the data uncovered. The purpose of the study was to determine the influences that provincial historic resource policy had on Crowsnest Pass historic resource policy/activities and what influences the Pass policy/activities had on provincial policy.

Using two major study questions with two sub-questions within each, Primary, Secondary and Tertiary documentary and interview data were collected through a variety of sources at the provincial and local level. The data sources ranged from primary data collection through interviews of provincial and local officials to secondary data collection through authors commenting on Social Credit and Progressive Conservative policy to tertiary data collection such as census data compilation from the University of Alberta Population Lab.

The data were analyzed on three levels: (1) External and Internal Historical Criticism, (2) Easton's Systems Theory of Political Behavior, and (3) The Policy Development Process. The first level dealt with the truthfulness of the data and its sources while the second level dealt with both an attempt to organize the data and utilize Easton's terminology to analyze the interactions involved in historic resource policy development at the provincial and local Crowsnest

Pass level. Finally, as a means of determining the influences that each policy base had on the other, the determination of either 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' policy development directions was utilized to determine the influence that policy actions at both levels had on the development of the other policy base.

CHAPTER FOUR

Provincial Historic Resource Policies - 1963 to 1979

Chapter Four can be considered a continuation of Chapter Two. Using the same format, the political, economic and demographic influences are reviewed and documented in the first section. The second section is a narrative of policy development throughout this period with each program area such as museums development and historic sites development examined separately as a basis for comparison with Crowsnest Pass historic resource policies and activities.

Internal Influences

The internal influences on provincial policies are included in the political, economic and demographic dimensions. The factors in the three dimensions had significant influence on the development of provincial historic resource policies. Throughout the 1960's and 1970's, which were significant decades of growth for Alberta's economy, historic resource policies experienced substantial development as well.

Political Influence

The provincial cultural and municipal policy components of the overall political influence on historic resource policies continued to be significant. Indeed cultural and historic resource policies grew in

complexity and substance such that a separate branch of a Department, then a government agency and finally an entire Department were formed to look after the policies.

In the 1960's, the SC government continued the development of social and cultural programs. The rapidly rising population and booming economy led to the development of social and cultural programs. From the late 1950's and through the 1960's, the Honorable Russell Patrick, who was succeeded by the Honorable Ambrose Holowach as Provincial Secretary in 1963, pressed for and instituted the Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta(PMAA). The development of this institution in 1967 and the complementary historical programs was the historic resource policy highlight of the 1960's.

Holowach, taking great pride in the PMAA and its attendant programs, was determined to recognize the institution in some way and succeeded in passing the Alberta Heritage Act 1970 to enshrine the institution in legislation. Harrison(1992) stated, the establishment of the PMAA in legislation was

> . . . opposed by legislative draughtsmen as unnecessary. They said the minister had all the power he needed under his own Act. Finally, Holowach insisted, with an election coming, he wanted to recognize the PMAA as an institution!

Throughout the 1960's, social and cultural policy development, including the policy fields of recreation/leisure and historic resources, slowly continued. In 1966 the SC government instituted Human Rights Legislation to illustrate its commitment to social and cultural programs. Thereafter funding increased in areas such as cultural activities, parks and recreation, and the preservation of historic sites.(Bettison et al, 1975, 168)

The "flurry" of activity surrounding the 1967 Centennial served to boost the development of recreation and cultural programs and facilities as well. According to Walter Kaasa(1990), Alberta's Cultural Development Director at that time,

> It spurred cultural activities. A lot of money went into it. And it also spurred historic resources at that time. . . . I think what it did was it gave a consciousness to the past in Canada, the past in Alberta, the past in the community. . . . And that's what spurred them on.

The development of the cultural and historic resource policy areas grew throughout the 1960's as the SC government continued to increase funding to both.(see Figure 4 below)

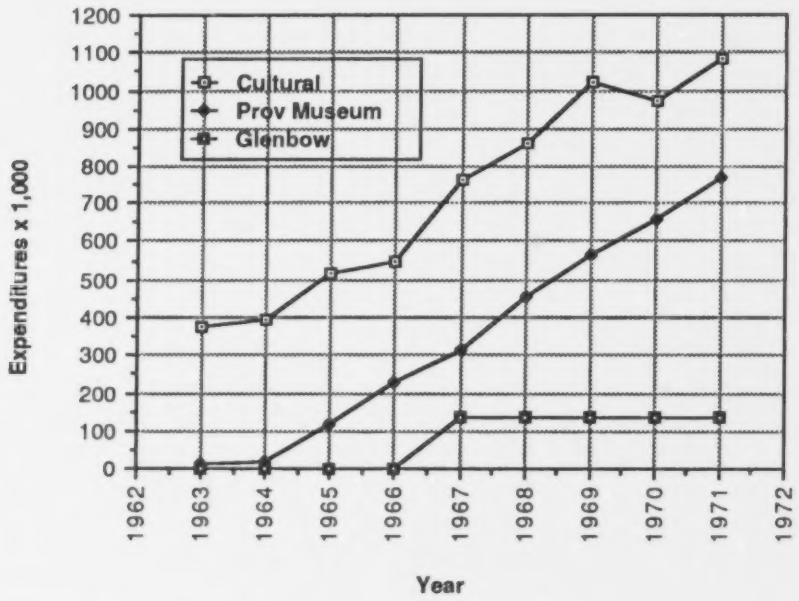


Figure 4. Social Credit Cultural and Historic Resource Expenditures - 1963 to 1971
(Alberta. Alberta Treasury, Public Accounts. 1963 to 1971)

In 1966 An Act to amend the Cultural Development Act was passed to provide substantial funding increases for the development of joint recreation/cultural facilities.(Section 14-d) However, according

to Harrison, very little funding went into local museums through this program. With the formation of the Department of Youth in 1967, continued greater awareness of recreation and cultural values of Albertans resulted in increased programming and grants for the development of facilities in both fields. Into the late 1960's and early 1970's, an awareness of cultural heritage increased in Alberta and public pressure for government action within these policy areas grew.

The PC government came to power in 1971 determined to emphasize Alberta's economic and political autonomy and to increase the development of social and cultural programs. The PC government was also ready to have the public more involved in government - an election promise to make government open and accountable to the people. It promised a return to citizen participation in government, a return to citizen control of Alberta's resources and the development of a social support system which ensured that the benefits accruing from natural resource revenues would be used to ease the debt burden and improve the quality of life.(Progressive Conservative Party of Alberta, 1971)

The PC government was also experiencing, as had the SC government, pressure to provide leisure opportunities to counter the negative effects of urbanization and alienation brought about by industrialization. The result was the development of opportunities through an enhanced cultural development program, among others. Within the cultural policy area, heritage development and participation were opportunities for Albertans to experience and get in touch with their past. This led to the development of recreation/leisure opportunities of which heritage tourism was one aspect.

The SC government in the 1960's and the PC government in the 1970's were part of a national and international trend which saw electorates demanding more say in the political decision-making process.(Vuchnich, 1980, 4) This demand for public input was to have special ramifications for historic resource policy development in Alberta.

Included in this movement for increased decision making was the desire to become involved in environmental decision making.(Denhez, 1978, 18)[1] The environmental movement resulted in a number of pressure groups actively lobbying the government for protective action.(Vuchnich, 1980, 5) The result was that ". . . governments began making policies which provided for a more orderly management of the environment."(Vuchnich, 1980, 9) In Alberta this brought about the creation of The Environment Conservation Act 1970. The Environment Conservation Authority, a body formed under the Act, assumed an ombudsman-like role which continued throughout the early years of the PC government.(see p. 69)

The Act provided a very broad mandate for environmental preservation. Taking advantage of this, a Public Advisory Committee on the status of historic resource development in Alberta was created and produced a report the recommendations of which were adopted almost entirely by the Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation(CYR) into the Alberta Heritage Act, 1973.[2] This legislation was a landmark in Alberta's historic resource policy development.

The recognition and preservation of Alberta's cultural and natural areas provided the province with an opportunity to develop and take pride in the role and direction of Alberta in Canada and the world. It also provided Albertans with the opportunity to preserve their ethnic culture in Alberta. The two areas also served as the basis for the increasingly popular leisure pursuit of heritage tourism to historic sites and outdoor areas.

The Department of CYR reflected this change through the development of an overall recreation development program. To the

---

[1]According to Denhez the environment conservation movement was initiated in the US in the mid 1960's and spread to Canada. The demand by conservationists in Canada led to an increasingly broad interpretation of the term environment which came to mean more than just the natural environment and included man's built environment as well. The environmentalists were joined by groups interested in Canada's heritage structure and as a result became more powerful.

[2]The 1971 Public Advisory Committee on the Conservation of Archaeological and Historical Resources.

new PC government, existing historic resource legislation for protection, preservation and development was weak, ineffective, and non-existent in most areas. It decided that a completely new Act which consolidated previous legislation and provided forceful protection for Alberta's historic resources was needed.(Schmid, 1990) Thus the Alberta Heritage Act, 1973 was created.

With the Act and the subsequent development of the administrative structure, the policy area of historic resource development began to gain substance. It was through the continued enhancement of cultural policies by the PC government in the early 1970's that the historic resource policy area gained prominence and began to develop.

Throughout the 1960's and 1970's, Alberta's municipalities were increasingly forced to improve their local services to meet rising population demands.[1] The federal government was supporting municipalities in urban renewal through the provision of conditional grants. The provincial government soon followed suit. The result was a system of revenue servicing of municipal development which was for the most part both federally and provincially controlled.(Masson, 1985, 15-17; Bettison et al, 1975, 177-78)

Local governments, due to a lack of discretionary revenue and delegated powers, were largely confined to land control and development issues. Municipal social programs, including cultural programs and historic resource development, were provided by the provincial government through conditional grants.(Masson, 1985, 27)

In an effort to regulate municipal planning, the provincial government tried to lead municipalities into voluntary participation in local and regional planning through the Planning Act and the introduction of Regional Planning Commissions. The efforts failed as the government was not willing to legislate compulsory participation in the Commissions and municipalities continued to subvert the regional planning process for their own ends.

---

[1]For more detail on municipal/provincial interaction in this area see Appendix B: Municipal Policy in Alberta - 1905 to 1979.

A major reason for this lack of regional and provincial planning coordination was the decision of the provincial government not to legislate control over the planning process. In addition, municipalities had a limited tax base and were forced to maximize what revenue they could from local taxes because of insufficient provincial revenue sharing. The result was that municipalities often made short-term land development decisions for revenue gain as opposed to long-term decisions which would benefit the whole region.

After 1973, provincial historic resources conditional grants rose and continued a slow rise throughout the 1970's and early 1980's. Municipalities were still held back by the lack of discretionary funding for local projects though the opportunities for development of local projects had risen as provincially significant historic resources were identified within municipalities. In addition, municipalities were slowly awakening to the importance of their historic resources and began to realize the powers for local preservation that they and the provincial government could provide.

In the late 1970's, the provincial government, realizing that municipalities did not have the power to control historic resource land development concerns at the local level, moved to legislate municipal powers similar to provincial powers in the Alberta Historical Resources Development Act.(Byrne, 1992) In addition, the provincial government began to legislate opportunities for greater conditional grants. However, it appeared that the municipalities were partially "stymied" by the municipal powers delegated through the legislation because it determined that the municipality must provide compensation for the designation/protection of local historic resources.(see p. 85)

The situation in the late 1970's and early 1980's was that of increased provincial funding for local historic resource development and increased opportunity, as legislated/delegated by the provincial government, to protect and creatively finance development. The opportunity was there for municipalities to help themselves. However municipalities were only just beginning to awaken to the possibilities and importance of local historic resources. Further, the lack of

discretionary funding, and the provincial government's reluctance to share revenues through increased unconditional grants delayed local development.

Economic Influence

In the 1960's and early 1970's, Alberta was economically very prosperous. The oil and gas industry was booming and revenues were abundant. In 1971, after the change in government from SC to PC, the PC policy of increasing oil and gas royalties led to even greater revenues. Towards the end of the 1970's, however, the drop in oil prices led to an increasingly unstable economic situation.

The unprecedented revenues generated in the 1960's and 1970's were passed on to Albertans through the development of many social programs. Under the SC government the PMAA and the Glenbow Museum and Archives both benefited. Under the PC government significant money was allocated for the development of separate historic resource program and policy areas.

However, it could be said that local historic resource development was hindered by the very unstable economic situation in the late 1970's and early 1980's. At a time when Alberta Culture had finally delegated significant historic resource protection powers to local authorities and Alberta Culture's administrative structure had finally matured, the source of significant local historic resource development funds had disappeared. During the early to mid 1980's recession, local historic resource development grant programs were significantly cut back though development funds for provincial historic resource projects increased significantly. In the late 1980's and into the 1990's government funding for local historic resource projects came entirely through the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation.

Demographic Influence

The 1960's continued with the trend of Alberta's rapid rise in population due to its explosive industrial development.(see Figure 1, p. 28) The rapid population increase meant increasing urbanization as people settled almost exclusively in larger urban areas.

The results of the population increase and booming economy included an increased education level, changes in attitudes and values, widespread prosperity which brought greater mobility, and a higher disposable income.(Barr, 1974, 150) The increasing number of youth from the "baby boom" era became a further government concern during the 1960's and 1970's.

All these phenomena increased pressure on the SC and PC governments. Deputy Minister of CYR Les Usher(Alberta. Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation Annual Report 1971, Report of the Deputy Minister) stated,

> As UNESCO reports (and volumes of social documents) make clear, the most critical area of human need now lies within man himself: in terms of his self-respect, his rights and dignity, his spiritual malaise, his search for meaning in an age of increasing automation and anonymity.

Government concern prompted the increased development of social programs.

There was continued government emphasis on special services for youth of which provincial recreation services were a major part. (McFarland, 1970, 68) Further, for all age groups, there was enhanced existing social programming and the development of new policies and programs.(Alberta. Department of the Provincial Secretary, Annual Reports 1959-1961; Patrick, 1960) After 1971, the PC government formed the Department of CYR to handle these concerns. As Usher(Alberta. Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation, Annual Report 1971, Report of the Deputy Minister) stated,

> In Alberta, the creation of one unified Dept - working in the realm of recreation, youth, our rich heritage resources and the creative artistic talents inherent within man - makes it possible to provide better, more co-ordinated programs and services dedicated to enhancing the lives of all our citizens.

By the middle of the 1970's historic resource policies had made great strides. In addition, Alberta had an extensive system of recreation/leisure programs and facilities.

However, according to Harrison(1992), in its early years the Department of CYR was overloaded with recreation and youth concerns which held back the development of historic resource policies and programs. It was only after the separation of the Youth and Recreation components from Culture and Historic Resources in 1975 that historic resource policy development "blossomed" in Alberta.

Historic Resource Policies

This section contains both a narrative of provincial historic resource policy development and a discussion of policy program areas. Within the narrative significant events and developments are outlined in the first four sections according to their significance. The last section details each historic resource program area in order to facilitate comparisons with Crowsnest Pass historic resource policies and activities and to determine the influence each had on the other policy base.

The Development of Major Provincial Museums

Historic resource policies in 1963 were fragmented with little funding support. The vast majority of the funding support was placed into the museum and archives policy area through the planning and proposed construction of the PMAA. However, action in support of provincial historic resource development was accelerating. The

Historical Advisory Board(made up of appointed members of the public and representatives of other government Departments) was transferred to the Provincial Museums Branch under Ray Harrison's chairmanship. Also in 1963, the SC government entered into an agreement with the Glenbow Foundation to establish a museum building to house the Foundation's increasing collections. Calgary's historic courthouse was renovated and an annual $35,000 operating grant established for the museum.(Alberta. Department of the Provincial Secretary, Annual Report 1963, 33) Finally, the SC government continued with its plans to develop the PMAA.

The Historical Advisory Board under Harrison began to push for the further development of Alberta's historic resources with minor success in the roadside sign and cairn site marking programs. With the support of Provincial Secretary Ambrose Holowach, the major museums of Alberta blossomed. The significant program development of the 1960's came through the efforts of both the Glenbow-Alberta Institute and the PMAA. Beyond this, little other funding was extended. Harrison's vision for the holistic development of Alberta's historic resources was proceeding as he had indicated.(Harrison 1992)(see p.35)

Within the provincial archival policy area, major strides were made because the provincial archives were included in the provincial museum. Further, in 1966, archival policy was updated through the passage of An Act respecting Provincial Archives. The Act legislated the hiring of a provincial archivist and the establishment of the archives in the PMAA.

In 1964, Alberta's museums program received a major "boost". The federal government approached the provinces with matching funding for a major project in celebration of Canada's Centennial. The funding allocated for the PMAA under the final year of the SC Five Year Plan was enhanced by the Federal grant. The government chose the PMAA for Alberta's centennial project.

According to Harrison the Provincial Secretary Ambrose Holowach was vital to the enhancement of the PMAA. He stated,

> It is important to recognize that the interest of Hon. Ambrose Holowach(Provincial Secretary) was primarily in the PMAA project. He was utterly devoted to it, and had a deep sense of personal identification with it, not just as a building but as an institution of culture. Unique for a cabinet minister his personal, musical, and cultural interests were an important element in realizing the institution.(Harrison, 1992)

In 1966, with the finished renovations to the Calgary Courthouse, the SC government announced the formation of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute with its own endowment of $5 million to match the Harvie family's endowment. The Institute was established in law through a statute the same year. Museum policy was enhanced as the objectives of the Institute included providing assistance in the form of loans, grants and technical assistance to museums and local groups with similar objectives. The PMAA and the Glenbow constituted an impressive team for the further interpretation and enhancement of Alberta's historic resources through complementary programs.

After 1967 the historic resources policy field was characterized by a wide variety of historic resource programs, fragmented legislative powers divided between different Departments and Acts, and limited funding established for certain policy areas. The preservation of Alberta's historic resources was shared between the federal government, which was responsible for sites of national importance, the provincial government, which was responsible for sites of province-wide historical significance, and municipal governments, which were responsible for sites of purely local significance.

The Provincial Secretary's Department was now responsible for provincial historic sites programmes through the PMAA. The Historical Advisory Board and the PMAA worked hand in hand in the marking of historic sites and the determination and construction of historic highway signage while the Department of Highways continued the construction of the turn-offs.

The historic sites continued to be acquired and maintained by the Department of Lands and Forests under the Provincial Parks Act while the Provincial Secretary's Department now provided and maintained the signs/cairns for site marking. New site exploration and research was carried out through the PMAA which, in 1964, had begun a fur trading post archaeological excavation program under Robert Kidd.

The scope of local historic sites development included the encouragement of local groups/municipalities in local site marking through small grants and technical advice from the PMAA. One time, $300 grants were allocated for a history project which could include a local history compilation, local museum operations and local site marking.(Harrison, 1967)

With the establishment of the PMAA, through an Historic Sites unit, there grew limited development of Alberta's historic resources policies other than museum and archives policies. Towards the late 1960's, there was increased interest in historic site development to bolster the tourist industry. In addition the federal government began to show increasing interest in the development of national sites within the province.(Harrison, 1969)[1]

In the early 1970's, there occurred another flurry of activity in the historic resources policy development area. In 1970 An Act Respecting the Provincial Museum and Archives, Historical Sites and Other Matters(The Alberta Heritage Act, 1970) was passed. The Act served the purpose of bringing into legislation the PMAA's programs and policies while providing limited funding increases. The establishment of the Historic Sites Advisory Committee(formerly the Historic Sites Advisory Board) through the 1970 Act was a step forward in recognizing the need for formalized coordination of historic resource development.

There were also indications that the SC government was willing to embark on a programme for the development of historic sites

---

[1]The memo outlined Harrison's concerns about the proposed federal development of the Cochrane Ranch site.

because the Provincial Secretary Holowach had indicated a willingness to increase Departmental emphasis on historic resource development in all policy areas.(Historic Sites Advisory Committee, minutes Oct. 27, 1970) However, the opportunity was lost as the SC party was swept from power in 1971.

Harrison(1992) summed up this period of historic resource development as follows.

> Needless to say, the concentration of the first decade was on the PMAA, even though a museum was the only element that the SC govt., originally had intended. Besides, to have pressed too hard in the early years for anything more would have branded me as impractical, and diluted efforts from the initial task - to create and open a new institution from nothing, in 5 short years. . . .
>
> While development was still going on in the museum following its opening on Dec. 6, 1967, my own sights were still set on the broader challenge of heritage resources and services around the province.
>
> Whether we would have been able to move on to some of my own broader objectives under the SC regime, however, is conjectural.

The Environment Conservation Movement

There was action in another policy area which was to have great consequence for the development of Alberta's historic resources. In the early 1960's there was a Canadian movement to increase public involvement in government decision making.(Vuchnich, 1980, 4) The public had a great distrust of government and what was perceived as unilateral decision making by government bureaucrats. To regain public trust, governments began instituting a policy of public consultation.

In addition, from the mid 1960's there had developed an environment conservation movement concerned about unbridled economic development and its environmental impact. The SC government, in an attempt to "shore up" voter support, passed An Act respecting Environment Conservation 1970.(Vuchnich, 1980, 1) The

Act established the Environment Conservation Authority as a public advocacy agency.(Vuchnich, 1980, 104)[1]

The concern for environmental issues was also a major policy issue for the PC party in its election campaign of 1970/71. Within the party election platform, there was strong commitment to environmental issues.(Progressive Conservative Party, 1971, section 2) After the election the party reiterated its position on environmental issues through comment on proposed environmental legislation. (Alberta. Hansard. Throne Speech March 2, 1972, 1-3) In the PC government's first throne speech, the party was resolved to act on cultural/historical resource issues as well.(Alberta. Hansard. Throne Speech March 2, 1972, 1-9)

Part of the public consultation process was the policy of government accountability to the people. One aspect of the PC Party election platform was to involve Albertans more in day-to-day government matters. One example of public consultation was the public hearings of the Environment Conservation Authority. A second example was the Cultural Heritage Conference of 1972. A third example was a PC policy to make its Ministers more accountable to the people by giving them more control over their ministries.(Harrison, 1990)

Harrison's vision of historic resource policy development in Alberta was also an important addition to this political situation. Province wide cultural and historic resource development, nurtured through the support of Provincial Secretary Holowach, had already been put into place on a small scale through loan exhibits, the appointment of an historic sites officer and an expanding survey, the appointment of a local museum advisory service officer, the establishment of the principle of annual and other grants, and the continuation of the archaeological work on historic sites owned by the province. Being in the Department of Youth from 1966 also legitimized the province wide historical interests.(Harrison, 1992)

Harrison(1992) stated,

---

[1]The Authority's overriding role was ombudsmanlike.

> By the time the PC's swept into power, we already had developed our thinking to a point that the appearance of Horst Schmid on the scene looking for new ideas, gave us the opportunity we needed. Meanwhile, Dick Forbis working behind the scenes at the party political level, stirred action, and the Environment Conservation Authority was brought into the picture. Since our own ideas were being advanced, the Chairman of the Authority thought it useful for the Public Advisory Committee on Historical and Archaeological Resources, to appoint me as Secretary, with Dick Forbis as Chairman.

The Environment Conservation Authority proved to be the convenient vehicle for the further advancement of historic resource development in Alberta.

This commitment to environmental issues, the rush of enthusiasm by the newly elected PC party to fulfill campaign promises, the huge "groundswell" of public opinion regarding environmental conservation, the strong movement towards public consultation and the work already completed within the PMAA towards an expanded vision of historic resources, led to the creation of the very significant Alberta Heritage Act 1973. The most significant immediate effect of these factors was action through the Environment Conservation Authority.

In its early years the Authority was given broad powers in the investigation of matters and legislation concerning environmental conservation. In the legislation which created the Authority, the definition of pollution was so broad that it was interpreted to mean ". . . anything which disturbed the natural environment."(Vuchnich, 1980, 104) It(An Act respecting Environment Conservation, 1970) stated,

> This Authority would be charged with the responsibility of maintaining a critical review of all government and private practices and procedures in the broad area of pollution. The Authority would guide policy to ensure preservation of the natural environment.

After 1970, the Authority conducted public consultation through province-wide public hearings in a number of areas. Public Advisory Committees(PAC), composed of public representatives and nominees of various organizations and institutions within the policy area in question, were established to advise on matters of specific interest.

In 1972, taking advantage of the broad definition of pollution, it was brought to the Authority's attention that legislation concerning the protection of Alberta's historical and archaeological resources was weak and ineffective.(Vuchnich, 1980, 193) One PAC was established specifically to address these concerns.

Dr. R.G. Forbis, President of the Canadian Archaeological Association, was appointed chairman of the PAC and Ray Harrison, Director of the PMAA, was appointed Secretary. The committee produced an initial report investigating the status of protection of Alberta's historic resources. Based on this initial report, the Minister of the Environment asked the Authority to hold public hearings on the topic. The committee then made recommendations in its final report concerning legislation and administrative mechanisms to protect and develop Alberta's historic resources. The final report, The Conservation of Historical and Archaeological Resources in Alberta, contained both the PAC recommendations and public comments. (Alberta. Department of the Environment. 1972)

Soon thereafter, with the permission of Horst Schmid, Harrison was seconded from the PMAA to work full-time on the development of legislation, programming and organizational planning recommended in the PAC's final report. The Alberta Heritage Act 1973, written and enacted soon thereafter, incorporated the report's major objectives and many of its specific recommendations.[1] According to Vuchnich(1980, 194), the Authority's influence on the development of the Act was attributed to,

---

[1]The report was published in November 1972 and the Alberta Heritage Act was assented to in May 1973.

> . . . an upswell of public interest for preservation, history and archaeology are politically neutral subjects, and there were at the time no aggressive interest groups working counter to the preservation of historical resources. Finally, since other provinces had passed similar legislation, Alberta may have updated its legislation without the involvement of the Authority.

The sweeping legislative change was brought about by a new political party in power which saw an opportunity to institute quick and meaningful changes in a policy area free of controversy. The actions served to partially satisfy public demand for both input into government decision making and action on historic resource preservation/development. This was a fortuitous set of circumstances exploited by advocates of historic resource preservation with significant results.[1] The conceptual and, to a degree, the institutional origins of heritage policy and legislation had been nurtured and developed throughout the 1960's and early 1970's by Harrison and his associates in the PMAA and on the Historical Advisory Board/Committee and were ready to be implemented.

The PC Party and Minister Horst Schmid

In 1971, the Cultural Development Branch and the Provincial Museum and Archives Branch were transferred over to the new Department of CYR from the Department of the Provincial Secretary. The Department of CYR continued to emphasize the importance of youth issues while recognizing increasing public demand for the development of cultural and recreation programs for all population

---

[1]Membership of the Historic Advisory Committee in the 1960's at times included J.G. MacGregor, H.A. Dempsey of the Glenbow Foundation, and R.O. Harrison, Chairman of the committee and the Director of the PMAA. These three were significantly involved in historic resource policy development in Alberta in the 1960's. The 1971 PAC on the Conservation of Historical and Archaeological Resources included Harrison (as the Secretary), Dempsey and MacGregor. Further, Harrison became an ADM for the new Department of CYR in 1971 and was responsible for drawing up the 1973 Alberta Heritage Act. There was a clear link through the 1960's to 1973 and the creation of the Alberta Heritage Act 1973.

segments. (Alberta. Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation, Annual Report 1971, Report of the Deputy Minister)

Within the Department of CYR, there was increasing attention and focus on all aspects of cultural policy - cultural heritage, the arts, and historic resource policies. In the historic resource policy area, existing legislation, with the exception of historic sites policy under the Provincial Parks Act 1964, became the responsibility of this Department.[1]

Another set of circumstances surrounding the development of historic resource policies in Alberta was the 1972 Cultural Heritage Conference hosted by the Department of CYR. The conference brought together many ethnic groups concerned about the preservation and enhancement of their cultures. After the conference, important cultural heritage resolutions put forth therein were immediately adopted by the PC government. Within Alberta's Hansard(November 14, 1972, 74-15), Minister Horst Schmid stated, "The government of Alberta has accepted these priority resolutions and declares them to be in effect as of this date." The importance of historic resources grew, in part, from this demand for the development of cultural heritage.(Alberta. Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation. Annual Report 1972, Report of the Deputy Minister)

The legislated strength of the 1973 Alberta Heritage Act appeared due to: the persistence and vision of Ray Harrison, Director of the PMAA; the persistence and political skill of the Minister of CYR Horst Schmid; and the backing of Premier Lougheed and his government. Ray Harrison and Minister Schmid appeared to be the catalyst both for the development of the 1973 Act and the strength of the protective powers that were included. Harrison(1990), when questioned about the role of Schmid and the PC party replied,

---

[1]The Department of CYR was charged with the administration of The Alberta Heritage Act 1970, The Cultural Development Act, The Geographic Names Act, The Libraries Act, the Public Documents Act, The Alberta Academy Act, The Glenbow-Alberta Institute Act, The Alberta Youth Foundation Act, The Registered Music Teachers Act, and the Northern and Southern Jubilee Auditoriums.

> I think that it was our contribution . . . ideas that were already being developed in the PMAA, that Horst took. He could see immediately, Wow! Here's something for my administration to use! Very ambitious . . . He could see that there [were] some bright ideas and some bright thinking. They were looking for new ideas.

Based on what he had seen within the existing administration of the PMAA and the recommendations of the Environment Conservation Authority's PAC on Historical and Archaeological Resources in Alberta, Schmid instructed Harrison to begin preparation of new legislation on historic resources in Alberta. Harrison put together a team including Bruce McCorquodale, John Nicks, and legislation draftsmen, which was responsible for the drafting of the 1973 Alberta Heritage Act.

Schmid(1990) stated his personal enthusiasm for developing policy particularly regarding historic resource protection. When asked if it was his directive to develop the strongest possible legislation for the Act, he said,

> Oh, very much so . . . If you ask people like John Lunn . . . Ray Harrison, they will tell you that they had a minister that fought for them. . . . I wanted to say it's the best in the world, not just the best in Canada.

The enthusiastic support of a minister was a definite positive but the support of cabinet and caucus was essential for the further development and passage of the 1973 Act. When asked of the role of the Premier and the PC caucus/cabinet in historic resource policy development, Schmid(1990) stated,

> If Premier Lougheed would not have been supportive . . . there would have been no way . . . that we could have passed it . . . him being chairman of cabinet and of caucus. It would have been quite difficult to override any objections that he would have had personally or that cabinet would have had.

For Minister Schmid, drafting the legislation was not the most important part. Getting the approval of caucus and cabinet for the legislation and then the regulations was one of his biggest challenges. Schmid(1990) said, ". . . one of the biggest debates of course was . . . how are the people who own that building . . . [going to be]compensated for what they . . . give up?" According to Schmid, another sizeable debate ensued around the establishment of heritage impact assessments in the Act. The oil and gas industry was a major "player" in government political circles and the fact that the assessments were included in legislation is a tribute to Schmid's early personal power in cabinet.(Schmid, 1990)

The other challenge for Schmid(1990) was to establish regulations regarding funding for historic resource programs. "Once the Act was passed, naturally I had to then battle for the amounts that were needed." The development of historic sites regulations was to take nearly three years though other smaller grants were in place before then.

Based on initiatives outlined by Historic Site's administrative staff under ADMs Harrison(who was ADM to the end of 1974) and Lunn(who was appointed ADM in 1975), subsequent amendments to the 1973 Act show the strong hand of Minister Schmid as well. An amendment in 1974 gave the government the right to authorize entry on any land to examine any historic resource. In 1975, Schmid lobbied for museum grants and was successful. Also in 1975 the Minister brought in greater penalties under the Act and made it a requirement that municipalities must cooperate in suspending local development permits on sites undergoing Department assessment.

Both Schmid and ADM John Lunn were disturbed by the actions of certain municipalities in disregarding the intent of the Act and resolved to do something about it.(Schmid,1990) Lunn(1990) stated,

> . . . we ran into a number of circumstances which led directly to that Act where the municipalities . . . were destroying, in an effort to improve their economic base, the things which needed preservation. Even after the Act was produced, it was

> really hard to give it teeth. You've got a lot of issues here and they're not all in favour of preservation.

Lunn also indicated that the amendment requiring municipalities suspend the permits of developers which threatened historic resources was not enough in itself. According to Lunn(1990), ". . . it was absolutely imperative to introduce some form of compensation that would offset the losses in effect [the owners] would suffer."

Subsequently, in 1976 Schmid sought and gained the very substantial historic site compensation grants for owners of designated historic resources. In 1976, the Department also issued the first Temporary Stop Order to halt development which threatened an important historic resource.[1] Such action demonstrated to industry, other government Departments and the public that the Minister was indeed willing to support the intent of the Act in this regard.

In 1978, under the last of the amendments to the Alberta Historical Resources Act, the Minister gained the power to implement any of the provisions of the Historical Resources Act. Previous to this, from 1973 to 1978, the implementation of any aspect of the Act had to be accomplished through an Order-in-Council.

Also under the 1978 amendment, the Minister gained the power to designate Provincial Historic Areas while giving municipalities the power to designate and protect local historic sites. In addition, the amendment increased the Department's power over other provincial legislation, a fact which was to be a source of envy for other government officials. Lunn(1990) stated,

> I remember hearing other Departments expressing the view that 'God, how did you get away with that?' . . . Department of the Environment wishes that they had the power that the archaeological protection required.

---

[1]This fact came up in a discussion with Assistant Deputy Minister W.O. Byrne in 1990. Byrne was Director of the Archaeological Survey in 1976.

The delegation of municipal designation and protection powers through the 1978 amendment to the Alberta Historical Resources Act was brought about by the fact that in the mid 1970's the City of Edmonton was challenged in its right to designate and protect a private property within city limits. It had been assumed by the Department that municipalities already had the power, through their municipal by-laws, to designate any historic property they chose. This was proved to be wrong. The City lost the case at the Supreme Court level and the Department proceeded to draft the Act's legislative amendment of 1978.(Byrne, 1992)

The Alberta Heritage Act, 1973

The Alberta Heritage Act 1973 was of great significance to the protection and preservation of Alberta's historic resources because it placed into law the ability to regulate any private, commercial or governmental activity concerning historic resources.[1] Of equal importance was the Act's administrative significance because it brought together all historic resource programs and also placed historic resources legislation under one Act, removing a source of confusion and delay which had served to fragment historic resource policy in past years.

All actions under the Act were approved through an Order In Council upon the recommendation of the Minister. The Act provided for government discretionary powers in the selection and designation of significant historic resources which thereafter prohibited alteration without government permission. Further, the government was given the authority to file an order against the land title to give the designation permanence. This represented a major intrusion on private property rights in Alberta.

The government could control the resource once it was designated such that standards of maintenance could be established - another

---

[1]For further detail on historic resource policy development throughout this period see Appendix D: Analysis of Historic Resources Legislation - 1973 to 1979.

intrusion on landowner rights. However, these intrusive powers were softened by the inclusion of a clause in the Act which stated that there may be compensation in the form of grants for loss of value and maintenance and restoration of the resource.

The Act also provided for government control over any archaeological activity in the province. The government gained the power to prohibit all archaeological digging and to control any activity sanctioned through government permits. The government could also order an assessment of historic resources on any land on which significant historic resources were thought to exist, an important development in the identification and protection of historic resources.

Perhaps the most startling power gained was the ability to issue a 'temporary stop order' on any development activity the government thought would damage historic resources. The order would curtail the activity until a resource could be assessed. In the event that it was considered significant, the government could order that activity to cease until the resource was evaluated, or in the event that the resource was too valuable to allow continued development, to alter the development plans.

In short, the government was to gain discretionary control over most aspects of the disposition of Alberta's historic resources. If the government so chose to designate and limit activity on any land it could be done.

The 1973 Act was bold and innovative in a number of unprecedented ways. The first, and one avoided by the SC government, was the restrictions placed on owners of designated historic resources regarding future development/maintenance of their property. This intrusion was softened by the fact that compensation for such was included within the legislation. This placed limitations on historic resource preservation activities but the presence of the legislation created many opportunities for local and provincial action.

The second was heritage assessments of larger development projects. The developer was required to undertake and pay for a

heritage assessment on land under development and report to the Department. Further, with the presence of important historic resources, the government could order changes to the development plans or delay the project until the resources were explored, excavated and preserved. The government gained the power to order any and all development projects stopped and in the event that significant resources were discovered, protect those resources from damage.

The third was the development of regulations supporting the Heritage Act. Without the support of regulations outlining the intent of the Act and providing grants to compensate the owners of designated historic resources, the Act would have been ineffective. The development of all historic resource grant regulations in the 1970's spurred the development of historic resources.

Though the Alberta Heritage Act 1973 was a very powerful piece of legislation, it was only as effective as the desire of the Minister to recommend, and the government to approve, designation and development of historic resources. All archaeological resources were protected because of the need for a research permit and the fact that resources uncovered became the property of the Crown. Further, archaeological assessment costs could be levied on corporations and other government Departments without severe political consequences. Major land development projects involving archaeological excavations were almost exclusively within the realm of larger corporations and government both of which could absorb the cost with relative ease.

However, other historic resources were not controlled unless the Crown chose to designate them. The decision to designate resources appeared to be based on a number of circumstances: (1) the desire of the government to approve sufficient funding to assist in the restoration/maintenance of private historic sites or to provide compensation for designation of these sites. (2) the desire of the government to designate private historic sites against owners' wishes which would have led to significant political ill-will, despite possible designation compensation and grants for site maintenance. (3) the desire of the government to impose penalties in the prosecution of

individuals and corporations who contravened the Act's intent. and (4) the desire of the government to allocate sufficient resources to acquire, restore and interpret provincially owned historic resources in view of its own policy initiatives.

There is some indication that the government was not always willing to implement the full intent of its policies. Lunn(1978) indicated that the provincial government was lax in the provision of funds to develop provincially owned historic sites. He stated, "Designated historic sites that are provincially owned need a system that spends money on their repair and preservation. At present no such system exists."

Similarly, Marc Denhez(1978, 86) lamented the relative lack of government action in defense of historic resources. He stated there were no legal avenues or lobby opportunities for citizens to force governments to follow and enforce their own statutes. Denhez(1978, 87) offered cautious praise for Alberta's Legislation but indicated that the presence of such did not guarantee historic resource preservation.

> . . . the integration of heritage conservation into provincial policy does not have any more legal teeth to it than heritage conservation at the federal level. Like the latter, it must rely upon internal administrative procedures.

Alberta Culture was also up against some formidable forces in its efforts to preserve Alberta's historic resources and thus chose to apply the provisions of the Act selectively. Denhez(1978, 99) outlined some of the obstacles encountered by historic resource advocates in the 1970's. There were many people, including those in provincial and municipal government, who were opposed to allocating funds for preservation. Being in positions of power they could impose their views on advocates of preservation. Many locally and provincially significant resources were thus destroyed because of the lack of political will and funding for preservation and development.(Lunn,1990)

Denhez(1978, 101) also outlined another problem - fear that designation would negatively affect property values. "Owners are worried about heritage legislation because heritage controls might affect the marketability of their property." Thus it was felt that government designation of historic property was an infringement on landowner rights and constituted government appropriation of private property without compensation. This would restrict what many felt was their right to do with their property as they chose.(Denhez, 1978, 102)

Alberta's government recognized this as it rarely designated historic property against an owner's wishes. Lunn(1990) mentions that a site was rarely designated without the owner's permission and indeed this became one criteria for determination of site designation. Denhez(1978, 103) recognized this problem when he stated,

> Disregard for the frustration of landowners may be acceptable in Europe where such frustration earns remarkably little sympathy; but in Canada, some 'appeasement' is politically necessary sooner or later.

There was a reluctance by the PC government to intrude on the property rights of owners until the historic sites grants program was installed as compensation for owners whose property was designated.(Schmid, 1990) This reluctance appeared to be one of the reasons for the delay of historic site designations until 1976 when the regulations were implemented.(see Table 1, p. 83)

Another reason for the delay of historic site designations was the administrative development of the Historic Resources Division. It was in 1976 that the Department of CYR was abolished. The Cultural Development and Heritage Resources Branches became Alberta Culture while the Recreation Branch joined with Parks to form the Department of Recreation and Parks. The Youth Branch partly reverted to a 4H Branch within the Department of Agriculture again. According to Byrne(1992) the formation of Alberta Culture was a clear indication of government commitment to Heritage and Culture.

A further reason for the increase in historic site designations after 1975 was the establishment of the Historic Sites Board in 1975. The Board, in conjunction with the newly established Research Section of the Historic Sites Service, was able to process ". . . criteria and background information required by the Historic Sites Board for recommendations concerning designations of historic sites to the Minister."(Alberta. Alberta Culture. Annual Report, 1975/76, 60) This streamlined the process of designation of historic sites in Alberta.

Table 1. Designated Historic Resources in Alberta

Year	PHR	RHR	Total
1975	3	3	6
1976	22	15	37
1977	24	3	27
1978	17	7	24
1979	20	6	26
1980	7	4	11
1981	12	8	20
1982	13	8	21
1983	10	3	13
1984	5	1	6
1985	10	4	14
1986	6	10	16
1987	21	17	38
1988	5	8	13
1989	4	10	14
Totals:	**179**	**107**	**286**

PHR - Provincial Historic Resource

RHR - Registered Historic Resource

Source: (Alberta. Department of Culture and Multiculturalism, 1990)

Alberta Culture completed its reorganization of the Historic Resources Division after the split from the Department of Recreation and Parks. Private sector historic site development was also assisted by the activation of the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation in 1976 which had been provided for in the Alberta Heritage Act 1973. The combined "weight" of all these factors meant increased funding and legislative support for historic site designation.

However the path of compensation had its dangers as well. As Denhez (1978, 162) stated,

> The Alberta government, for example, currently has a self-imposed policy of committing itself to subsidies every time that it classifies a heritage site for protection; this necessarily means that the province's appraisal of its own historical resources becomes contingent upon Alberta Culture's budget, and the designation program must exhibit a selectivity which is rare in European counterparts. The U.K., for instance, has approximately one protected heritage building for every hundred inhabitants; if Alberta wished to have a comparable ratio, it would either have to amend its policy or make $300 million available to renovation projects.

Thus the compensation payment for the designation of historic structures was a limiting factor for historic resource preservation and development.

Another aspect of this problem was the interpretation of the Alberta Heritage Act, 1973. Section 36 was to be of particular importance in placing limitations on the designation of historic resources. The clause, which stated that

> The Minister may authorize the payment of compensation in accordance with the regulations to any person who has suffered loss as the result of the application of any provisions of this Act or the regulations.

was a cause for concern as there was speculation that 'may' could legally be challenged and interpreted as 'shall'.(Tracy, 1990) The

accumulative effect of great numbers of designated structures with compensation awarded would have swelled the Department's budget many times over. This obviously was a factor in determining how many sites were to be designated and which sites would be given grants. The PC government was not willing to allocate unlimited amounts of money for compensation.

The intent of the historic site grant program was to provide both compensation and persuade owners to voluntarily offer their property for designation. According to Lunn(1978), however, owners were often not prepared to put up the matching amounts for maintenance and upgrading of historic properties. The regulations offered too little money and tied the existing grants to fifty percent matching grants - something most owners were not willing to undertake. For a commercial structure the maximum amounts available were petty in comparison to the tax benefits of a new building. The system did not work particularly well and Lunn called for other solutions.

In addition, local governments in themselves were limiting factors. Most local governments in Alberta largely ignored local historic resource preservation concerns. The provincial government continued to present ways to encourage municipal involvement in historic resource preservation. The government assumed that municipal governments had the power to designate and preserve local historic sites. When this was proven wrong through the courts, Alberta Culture formally designated these powers through the 1978 amendment to the Act.[1]

However, the amendment also included the clause that designations which resulted in lost market value "shall" be offered compensation. The municipality could not afford such though avenues were left in the legislation for creative financing such as tax exemptions and special agreements.

The process of awareness and appreciation of Alberta's heritage among both the public and Alberta's public figures was only just

---

[1]For further detail on historic resource policy development throughout this period see Appendix D: Analysis of Historic Resources Legislation - 1973 to 1979.

beginning in the late 1970's. Speaking generally about historic resource legislation in Canada, Denhez(1978, 105) stated,

> This lack of awareness of municipal powers, however, is itself predictable: *virtually all powers enacted specifically for heritage purposes have been bestowed within the last five years.*

It would take time before individuals and municipal politicians became aware of both the importance of historic resources and their ability to protect and develop them. The early 1980's were characterized by the increasing co-operation of municipal and provincial groups/authorities in the development of local historic resources.(Alberta. Alberta Culture, Annual Reports, 1978/79 to 1984/85)

At the local municipal level, there were also formidable obstacles to historic resource preservation and development. According to Magnusson and Sancton(1983, 293), municipal politics in the 1970's and 1980's had become that of economic boosterism. Being deprived of involvement in social program issues, the local politicians had only economic development left as a political arena. Therefore economic development and community growth were often regarded as pre-requisites for re-election. Denhez(1978, 121) stated that

> The first attitude which the conservation movement must overcome is the notion, prevalent among some municipal councils, that *any* growth is a status symbol for the municipality. . . . Some municipal politicians have equated quantitative growth with personal success and the fulfillment of their mandate to such an extent that they often use population increase as their main argument for re-election.

Municipal politicians sought to maximize property tax revenue and encourage local economic growth by encouraging development within their jurisdiction. Only in the 1980's did local authorities begin to recognize that historic resource preservation and development now made sound economic sense.

There was a further block to municipal historic resource conservation.(Denhez,1978, 147) For the owners, efforts to upgrade

existing heritage structures resulted in higher property taxes as the value of the building rose. Owners were thus discouraged from upgrading heritage structures. In addition, there were tax advantages for a company locating in a newer building rather than proceeding with renovations on an older structure.(Denhez, 1978, 148-149) Federal tax laws also encouraged the demolition of heritage structures for tax advantages. An owner could demolish an older building and write off the entire cost of the structure as a tax deduction.

In another example, older structures had to compete with the advantages of new construction on the same site.

> A special loophole has been built into the Act[Federal Tax Act] so that developers can claim tax-deductible losses even when they are making profits: this exceptional provision . . . permits the developer to claim tax-deductible depreciation in excess of the revenue on the project.(Denhez, 1978,149-150)

There was a further advantage for new structures. Renovations to older structures were treated as "once and for all" improvements and were not tax-deductible. However, maintenance and smaller improvements on newer structures were deductible as a business expense. Thus the Act was biased against renovation - newer structures were more economical for the business community.(Denhez, 1978, 150)

The Implementation of the 1973 Act

The implementation of the Act was delayed by the development of the administrative structure necessary to undertake the task. Planning for the development of the Historic Resources Division(originally the Heritage Resources Development Division from 1973 to 1975) was initially undertaken by Harrison as ADM and taken over by Dr. John Lunn as ADM.

According to Byrne(1992), Lunn was largely responsible for the development and consolidation of the administrative structure of the Division and the development of its major programs. Lunn was also

instrumental for establishing the conceptual priority of the department as the preservation of historic sites "in-situ". This period of the 1970's was characterized by the preservation of Alberta's historic resources because there was so much pressure for development in Alberta.

To fulfill its mandate, four branches, each headed by a director, were established within the Heritage Resources Development Division of the Department of CYR: (1) The Provincial Museum of Alberta, (2) The Provincial Archives and Records Management Service, (3) The Heritage Sites Service of Alberta, and (4) The Archaeological Survey of Alberta.

From 1973 to 1975 divisional activity centered around the reorganization of the administrative structure to begin the task of inventory, classification and designation/protection of Alberta's historic resources. Two of the four sections established within the Heritage Resources Development Division, The Provincial Museum and the Provincial Archives and Records Management Service, retained and further enhanced their PMAA administrative structures. The Archaeological Survey and the Heritage Sites Service drew on existing programs established under the Provincial Museum administration but in effect were starting "from scratch" because of the lack of personnel.

Monetary support for historic resource development in Alberta after 1973 was limited by the process of administrative and program development. Department expenditures in the historic resources area remained basically the same from 1973 to 1975.(see Figure 5, p. 89)

Funding for historic site development appeared to be delayed by a number of factors. First, the administrative structure of the Department needed time to develop and gain momentum. Administrative personnel were being sought as was administrative office space. Expertise within the historic resource field had to be assembled and/or developed. Second, programs to enact the provisions of the Act were also being developed. The Archaeological Survey enjoyed its first full year of operation in 1975 with its first

director, Dr. W.O. Byrne. Third, the Heritage Resources Division was only one division within a Department which handled many other high priority issues within Youth, Recreation, and other aspects of Culture. Fourth, the historic site regulations which outlined compensation for designation of historic sites had not yet been approved. Until the approval of the regulations, very few historic sites were designated.

During program development in the Heritage Resources Development Division, there were certain things that had to be accomplished before other action could take place. Government designation of historic sites was undertaken on an emergency basis through to the mid 1970's.(Schmid, 1990) A sufficient inventory of

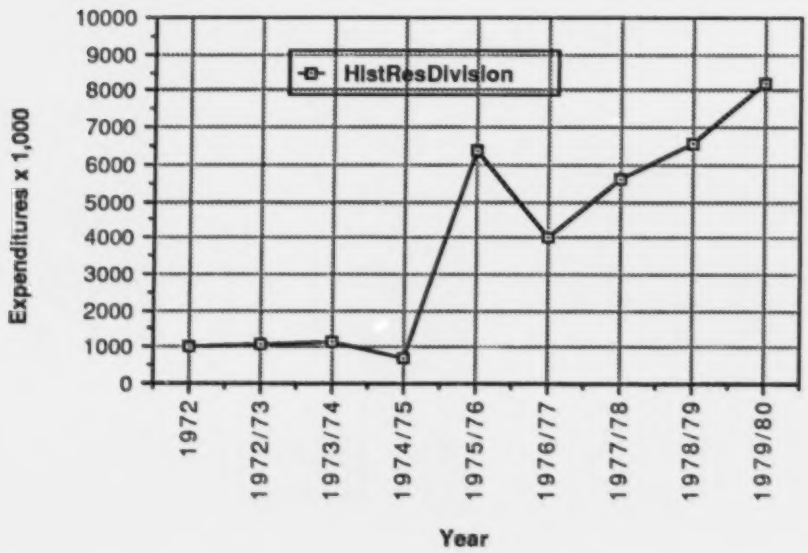


Figure 5. Progressive Conservative Historic Resource Expenditures - 1972 to 1979
(Alberta. Alberta Treasury. Public Accounts. 1971 to 1980)

relevant historic structures had to be accomplished before criteria could be set up and designation could take place with any consistency and pattern.

Most of the division's resources were poured into this reactive process of preservation with limited resources left over for development purposes. With the 1980's economic slow down, more resources could be used to accommodate development purposes as the need to react to great numbers of development proposals lessened.

In 1975 the Department of CYR was split to form both Alberta Culture and The Department of Recreation, Parks and Wildlife. The twenty-six historic sites established under the Provincial Parks Act were transferred to Alberta Culture as part of the reorganization. The establishment of Alberta Culture was swiftly followed by a dramatic rise in Departmental historic resource expenditures.(see Figure 5, p.89) The new Agency was to grow with the full attention of Horst Schmid as the Minister responsible for Alberta Culture.

The move to establish Alberta Culture was due to the continuing rise in importance of cultural development in Alberta. For a time Alberta Culture was in limbo, an agency with Horst Schmid the Minister responsible.(Harrison, 1992) This status was changed in 1980 when Alberta Culture became a Department.[1] As Alberta Culture's C.L. Usher(Alberta. Alberta Culture, Annual Report 1975/76, 8) stated,

> In particular the reader will note the vibrant nature and heavy demand for services in all programming areas. This reflects very clearly the present cultural explosion in the Province as witnessed in all the arts and in an enlightened concern for the cultural heritage. . . . The new awareness and concern for our heritage resources, coupled with the threat to these by accelerated development, were the challenges that faced the Historical Resources Division during the year.

---

[1]Statutes of Alberta, The Department of Culture Act, 1980.

Action within the Historic Resources Division quickened immediately. In 1975, under the direction of Lunn as the new Assistant Deputy Minister, the Alberta Heritage Act 1973 was amended to increase its power to protect historic resources. The Historic Sites Grant Regulations, Regulation 330/76, were also instituted.(Alberta Gazette, Alberta Regulations 1976)

In 1978 increased government commitment to the development of historic resources was also evident with the development of further grant regulations. The new grants created increased local historic activity in local cemetery and inventory projects.(Alberta. Alberta Culture, Annual Reports 1978/79 to 1982/83)

There were also other sources of historic resource development funding. In 1975, cultural organizations received financial support under The Recreation Development Act, Alberta Regulation 85/75 - Project Cooperation.(Alberta Gazette, Alberta Regulations, 1975) Further funding of cultural/historic activities and facilities was encouraged in 1976 under the Department of Recreation, Parks and Wildlife Act, Alberta Regulation 303/76.(Alberta Gazette, Alberta Regulations, 1976) According to Harrison(1992) the funding occurred mainly for capital facilities projects with a cultural component. Very little funding went into museums and historic sites development and none was allocated to operational funding of historic facilities.

In the 1970's, Alberta Culture had been swamped by the need to protect historic resources from accelerating economic development. With the designation process well under way, the Historical Resources Act well established, significant resources already protected, and the inventory of historic resources reorganized and priorized, the development of a Master Plan for Alberta Culture became a priority.

As Usher(Alberta. Alberta Culture, Annual Report 1976/77, 7) stated, "The preparation of a comprehensive Master Plan for development of Alberta's historical resources was undertaken as a project of paramount importance." In 1978, L. Hurt, working under the direction of F. Pannekoek, Director of Historic Sites Services, was

assigned to head the team that began work on the 1980 Master Plan.(Alberta. Alberta Culture. 1980)(see p. 94)

The development of a Master Plan for historic resource development had been proposed by R.O. Harrison from his appointment as Museums Consultant in 1962. Harrison prepared a proposal entitled The Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta: A working Paper for Their Long-Range Development, August, 1962, in which he outlined the coordinated development of the PMAA along with historic sites, historic trails, parks and local museums throughout Alberta.(Harrison, 1962, p. 56) Also outlined within the paper were the development of major themes for the interpretation of Alberta's history. Within the paper Harrison(Harrison, 1962, p. 74) stated,

> The size of the organization by 1970 should be that outlined in the preceding chapter. Subsequent development for the next ten years up to 1980 will then consist of a continuation of collecting, a lower but constant level of displays in the headquarters museum and a swing to provincial display services via circulating exhibitions and interpretive exhibits in parks, historic sites, historic buildings, and local museums.

This outline for provincial historic resource development was to survive through the 1960's and become the basis for the 1972 Heritage Resource Development Plan: 1973 - 2005 for the Province of Alberta, Draft #5 produced under the direction of Harrison.(Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation. No date, 1972) This in turn led to the July 10,1974 Decentralization Master Plan for Alberta's Heritage Resources prepared under the direction of Harrison and presented by Schmid to cabinet and various other committees.(Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation. August 28, 1974)[1]

---

[1] Request for Cabinet Decision submitted by Minister Horst Schmid August 28, 1974 on the Decentralized Master Plan; The Decentralized Master Plan for Alberta's Heritage Resources can be accessed through the reference - Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation, no date. in the bibliography.

According to Harrison, the early master plans had been based on his vision of holistic development of heritage resources in Alberta - a vision shared by senior administrators in first the PMAA and then the Heritage Resources Division established with the passage of the Alberta Heritage Act 1973. Harrison(1992) stated,

> My interests tended towards a holistic approach. . . . to me museums of all types, historic sites, archives and art galleries, as well as libraries, and even planetariums, aquariums, and botanic gardens, were all part of the cultural heritage and institutions of a city, a province, or a nation. . . . There was a visible unity amongst all these cultural and heritage resources, and I felt increasingly that whether at the municipal, provincial, or national level, there was a good case for developing coordinated policies, programmes, and organizations, around a unified concept and hopefully achieving some balance.

After the development and implementation of the Alberta Heritage Act 1973, Harrison, at the end of 1974, moved into a policy and planning consultation role with the Department of CYR. One of his major assignments was the development of the Decentralization Master Plan for Alberta's Heritage Resources, draft forms of which were prepared by a committee chaired by Harrison and B. A. McCorquodale, J. S. Nicks and A. D. Ridge.(Harrison, July 5, 1974; Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation, No date)[1] The plan put forth principles and objectives for historic resource development in Alberta and identified facilities, sites and themes for development of such around the province.

Under the direction of ADM John Lunn, Harrison continued to advocate a consistent overall policy and Master Plan for Alberta.

---

[1]Memo from Harrison to B.A. McCorquodale(Acting ADM), J.S. Nicks(Director of Heritage Sites), and A.D. Ridge concerning a committee meeting on the Master Plan. Throughout 1974 Harrison worked on several drafts of the Master Plan presenting it to various committees(such as the Rural Development Committee) and cabinet for feedback and approval. However, the Master Plan in this form was never approved and a new initiative, developed with much greater detail, containing much the same principles and format, was prepared by the Department under the direction of Les Hurt.

Harrison prepared the document Position Paper - A Historical Resources Policy for Alberta, May 11, 1976.(Harrison. May 11, 1976) This document was updated and presented by Lunn to an Alberta Culture planning seminar in 1978.(Alberta. Alberta Culture. No date, 1978)[1]

In 1977 the inventory of resources was reorganized such that a small list comprising the significant provincial historic resources could be proposed for designation by the Department.(Alberta. Alberta Culture, Annual Report 1977/78, 21) Further, the inventory of historic resources and work on the Master Plan had advanced to the stage that designations were now selected on the basis of fulfilling thematic categories for the interpretation of Alberta's historic resources.

As indicated in Figure 6, smaller historic resource development projects were funded and historic resource development funding rose from 1975 to 1979 but the most significant rise in development funding occurred in the 1980's when the Master Plan had been completed and major development projects approved by cabinet.(see Figure 6 p. 95) In the late 1970's the preparatory research on major development projects, completed under the direction of ADM John Lunn, enabled the Minister of Alberta Culture to successfully approach Cabinet in the early 1980's for development funding for them.

The Master Plan for provincial historic resource development appeared to have been delayed by the lack of an inventory.(Alberta. Alberta Culture, 1980) The lack of a Master Plan was also a limiting factor on major development funding. According to Edey(1990), major development funding was not forthcoming until a division master plan had been completed to guide development spending.

---

[1]The paper was titled Alberta Culture: Historical Resources Policy and Planning for Alberta.

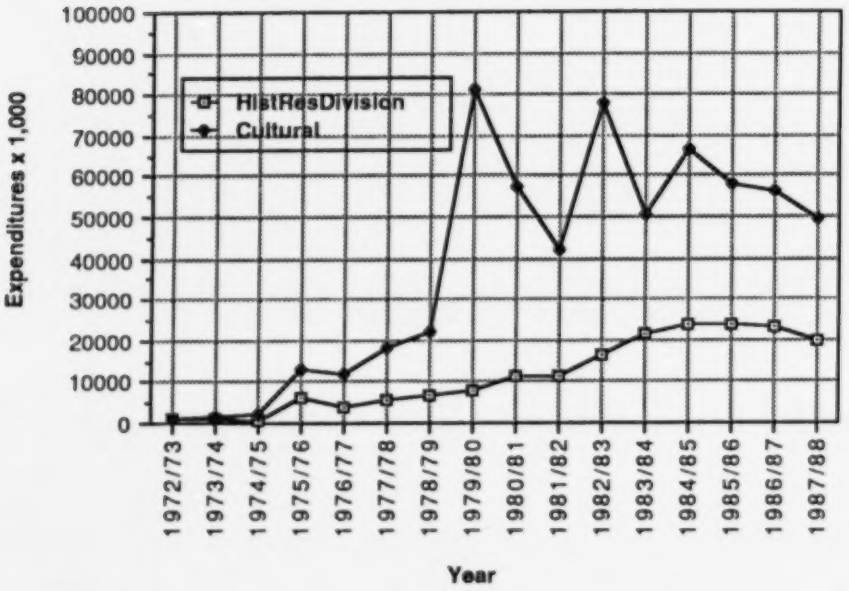


Figure 6. Cultural/Historic Resource Expenditures - 1972 to 1987
(Alberta. Alberta Treasury, Public Accounts 1972 to 1987)

In the late 1970's a change in personnel boosted efforts to prepare the Master Plan. In 1978 Fritz Pannekoek was hired as Director of the Historic Sites Service and had pushed the development of the Master Plan from the start. It was Pannekoek's ambition to oversee the development of the Plan as a means of furthering historic resource development overall. According to Lunn and Edey, Pannekoek was instrumental in its development. Lunn(1990) stated,

> A whole hell of a lot of legwork had, in fact, been done by Dean Clarke and Fritz's predecessors in getting material ready for this [plan] but I think you've got to give most of the credit to Fritz for actually pushing it.

Edey(1990) supported this as she stated,

> I think that I'd have to say that it was largely as a result of Fritz pulling the loose ends together and making sure that it was really, really well articulated. . . I think it needed Fritz's iron fist to pull it together.

According to Edey(1990), Pannekoek came to her soon after he became Director to inquire about the Department's ability to gain funds for development of historic resources. Edey indicated that the development of a Master Plan was a must as cabinet would not look at major funding requests until the Department had produced a plan. Further, both Harrison(1990) and Edey(1990) stated that the government was looking for projects at this time. Edey articulated,

> At that stage, there was funding in the province. They were looking for projects. . . . For projects from Departments period. And, it's the Departments that got their act together the quickest that got the money to get the projects approved.

The introduction of new personnel into the Department and the higher profile of culture surrounding Alberta's 1980 anniversary celebrations stimulated the development phase of Alberta's historic resources. Dr. W.O. Byrne, Director of the Archaeological Survey, became the new ADM. His appointment coincided with the development phase of Alberta's Historic Resources and as Byrne indicated, he was in the right place at the right time to successfully promote and implement the major historic resource development projects of the 1980's.(Byrne, 1992)

As Byrne(1992) suggested, there was a conscious group decision within the Division to promote the major projects as economic generators. In the 1970's, under Lunn, many of the projects had been promoted as social issues - as educationally and philosophically the right projects to develop to fulfill the Division's mandate. In the 1980's, with the economic downturn, and with Cabinet looking for diversification of the economy, the projects were promoted as

economic generators via the tourist industry. The approach, in association with the seventy-fifth anniversary celebrations, worked.

The seventy-fifth anniversary precipitated a lot of historic resource development activity. In 1979 Alberta Culture hosted a conference of Ministers responsible for Culture and Historical Resources. The timing of the conference, along with the rise in action in the culture and historic resource development fields, indicated the increased importance that the PC government was placing on cultural development.(Alberta. Alberta Culture, Annual Report 1978/79, 7)

Further, increased funding for cultural celebrations and projects throughout the province meant another opportunity for historic resource development. Horst Schmid(1990), a member of the projects selection committee, sought to enhance historic resource development through these one-time grants. The early 1980's were therefore banner years for historic resource development in Alberta.

Provincial Policy Within Specific Policy Areas

Within overall provincial policy, at least seven program areas can be discerned - museum policy, site marking policy, historic site designation and development policy, archaeological policy, historic book policy, archival policy, and cemetery restoration policy.

In the 1960's, in the museums program area, the development of the PMAA and the Glenbow both served as the provincial government's administrative structure for the development of all historic resources, although museum and archives development remained the major activities. Museum development concentrated almost exclusively on the development of the structure and outreach programs of the two major museums. There were only minor funding programs such as small grants and technical advice for smaller local museums. Local groups were still mostly on their own.

A significant occurrence, according to Harrison(1992, 1990) occurred in 1971 just before the fateful election campaign of that year in which the PC party swept to power. Harrison approached Ambrose

Holowach, Provincial Secretary, and convinced him to implement small annual grants for qualifying local museums throughout Alberta. Previously there were small 'one-time' grants for local museums and Harrison identified this initiative as the establishment of the annual funding principle for future historic resource funding in Alberta.

In the 1970's the development of museums continued to be the major feature of provincial historic resource development though senior administrative personnel in the PMAA and the Department of CYR continued to push for the preservation and interpretation of Alberta's many historic sites. The role of the PMAA was to grow significantly from 1973 to 1979 within the new Heritage Resources Development Division of the Department.

All previous historic resource development programs had originated within the PMAA throughout the late 1960's and early 1970's and though other branches were created out of PMAA personnel, museum programs of research and development were also expanded to assist branch development. Throughout the 1970's, museum programs and expertise grew along with that of other Heritage Resource Development Division branches.

In 1974 the first regulations developed under the Alberta Heritage Act, 1973 were for museum development. The grant regulations were established quickly in response to the federal government's National Museums Program and the provincial government's desire to take full advantage of this program.(Schmid, November 28, 1972)[1] The grants matched and enhanced the federal museum initiatives.

Under Alberta Regulation 254/74, $200 annual operating grants for smaller museums were established.(Alberta Gazette, Alberta Regulations, 1974) In addition, for larger, more established museums with a curator and special historical significance, a $12,000 annual grant was available. Museums which did not qualify under these conditions could apply for a $5,000 grant. In addition, museums

---

[1]Memo from Minister Horst Schmid to Dr. Louis Lemieux, Secretary, Consultive Committee, National Museums Corporation, Ottawa. Schmid outlined a proposal to use federal grants in the implementation of a provincial museums policy as part of the provincial heritage resources long-range plan.

could gain a $5,000 grant for the establishment of circulating museum exhibits and a $2,500 grant for development of the exhibits. As a bonus, provincial funds could be added to the federal funding available.

One aspect of overall PC political policy which assisted museums development was decentralization. The PC party promoted the decentralization of both political decision making and government services in its early years in power, though the movement was to diminish in importance in the mid-to-late 1970's. This early emphasis on decentralization was seized by ADMs Harrison and Lunn to promote decentralization of museum services and the promotion of local museums.(Harrison, 1990)

The National Museums Program of the early 1970's also emphasized the decentralization of museum services through the development of circulating exhibitions by local, regional and provincial museums. The PMAA was established as an associate museum under the National Museums Program which enabled it to receive funds to produce circulating exhibitions. With this assistance the PMAA was able to expand its extension programs to many areas of the province. (Alberta. Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation, Annual Report 1973/74, 8)

The provincial government museum grants established in 1974 furthered these national decentralization goals and helped the PMAA provide assistance for local museums. However, the decentralization policy did little for local museums. Lunn(1978), four years later, observed that museum exhibitions were concentrated mostly in Calgary and Edmonton with the needs of smaller communities inadequately addressed.

> About 120 small public museums exist in Alberta and at least half belong to communities that are so small that they cannot be open to the public on a regular basis and in consequence, cannot qualify for grants under the existing programs. There is a very real need for a new approach to financial assistance for such institutions that should not depend exclusively on a matched approach for funding.

Up to the 1980's, museum development in Alberta continued to center around the two major centers with minor grants to local museums. Without greater funding assistance, the development of smaller local museums was slow and difficult depending mainly on the fundraising assistance of local historic organizations and the increasing awareness of municipal governments to the importance of local historic resources and artifacts.

In the provincial site marking program, through to 1972 the PMAA had responsibility for the highway rustic sign program and the historic site cairn marking program. By 1972 the rustic sign program was responsible for seventy-one signs, an increase of only ten since 1962. The concrete cairn marking program had progressed somewhat more slowly with thirty-eight sites, an increase of only five from 1962. Through the 1970's provincial funding allocations for site marking policy remained much the same.

Local organizations utilized the marking program effectively as programs funds were readily available. The program was relatively inexpensive for the Department and thus was used as a major source of support for local historic groups.

In the historic site designation and development program action continued slowly through the 1960's. Under Harrison, the Historical Advisory Board continued to recommend to the Provincial Parks Board those historic sites to be acquired and marked. It also continued to pressure the Provincial Parks Branch to follow through on the protection and interpretive development of historic sites to no avail.

Under the Provincial Parks Act, 1961 a few more historic sites were acquired but no additional funding was allocated for historic site development. In the mid 1960's Harrison initiated the archaeological investigation of the historic sites established under the Provincial Parks Act. Interestingly enough, this was against the express wishes of Deputy Provincial Secretary Elbourne Hughes who, Harrison(1992) stated,

> . . . gave me strict instructions: "there is to be no digging! (ie. archaeology or paleontology). . . . any artifacts needed could be loaned by Glenbow." Since we owned numerous fur trade post sites, I circumvented this by pleading the need to investigate them and get artifacts for exhibitions. So that is how we started the archaeology program. The first dig was a winner!

Towards the late 1960's the SC government showed some willingness to increase the emphasis on historic sites development as a means of enhancing the tourist industry. However, the lack of a central coordinating body and lack of funding commitment meant little more than "lip service" and the inability to move forward in any substantial manner.

After 1970, through the Alberta Heritage Act 1970, historic sites organization and development improved somewhat but legislation and funding was still fragmented between several Departments. Historic site development continued to suffer from lack of significant funding and legislative commitment.

This all changed with the Alberta Heritage Act 1973. It provided protective powers, administrative centralization and the willingness to provide major funding for historic resource development in the province. The Heritage Resources Development Division became the nucleus for accelerating historic sites acquisition and development.

The Heritage Sites Services Branch maintained its priority of identification, inventory and selection of historic sites for the designation process. Thus, throughout the early-to-mid 1970's, there was only a minor increase in emphasis on interpretive historic site development and this accomplished with the help of the PMAA.

From 1970 to 1973/74, only one site was open for interpretation while research and development of another site was underway. In 1973/74, the Heritage Resources Development Division operated two sites for interpretation. In addition background research on four other historic sites was underway. Throughout the latter 1970's, interpretation accelerated in scope and site numbers to 1979/80.

In 1979/80, research was proceeding for the planning and interpretation of such mega-projects as the interpretive centers for the Crowsnest Pass, The Tyrell Museum of Paleontology, and Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump. In addition, work continued on the research and interpretation programs of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, Stephanson House, the Plavin Homestead, the Strathcona Science Park, Fort Mcleod RCMP Post, Brooks Aqueduct, and the Victoria Settlement. This work on the research and development of historic resources was the groundwork for the 1980's major historic site developments undertaken by Alberta Culture.

Historic site designation, preservation and development activity was largely the domain of the provincial government up to 1975. With the administrative development of the Historic Sites Service after 1975 and the 1976 major historic sites grants, there was more(though still limited) involvement of private citizens, municipalities and corporations through small grants for local historic projects. In 1978 cemetery restoration grants and historic inventory grants spurred further local historic site activity. Into the 1980's, the Historic Resources Division continued to seek ways to increase local support for the preservation and development of historic sites.

In the archaeological program area, increased archaeological interest by the government came under An Act respecting Provincial Parks, Historical Sites, Natural Areas and Wilderness Areas, 1964. However, the SC government neither initiated archaeological protective action nor developed regulations under this Act.

Archaeological activity "sped up" through the mid 1960's. Government archaeological excavation activity began in 1965 under Harrison who initiated an archaeological program to prepare a fur trading exhibit for the opening of the PMAA. In 1966 a Curator of Archaeology position was created for the PMAA and in 1967 a conference of archaeologists was held for the purpose of establishing better liaison between the PMAA and other archaeologists throughout the province. According to Harrison(1992) the conference helped focus archaeological policy in the Department and around Alberta.

The University of Alberta formed its archaeological Department soon thereafter.

Through to the 1970's the excavation of historic fur trading sites reached the saturation point while the excavation of pre-historic sites grew. By 1972 there was increased emphasis placed on pre-historic archaeological excavations as more and more sites were endangered by economic development.

In 1973, with the development of the Alberta Heritage Act, government archaeological research received greater emphasis. For the first time an archaeological site was defined within legislation. With the protective powers of the Act, archaeological protection and investigation became one of the most active areas of historic resource development.

The Archaeological survey was set up in 1974 and liaison with other government Departments began immediately with the review of several development projects of the Department of Highways. The number of heritage assessments increased through the late 1970's due to the Survey persuading government Departments and agencies, private developers/planners, and municipal and regional planning bodies to consult with the Division before undertaking any development activity.

Throughout the latter 1970's, amendments to the Alberta Heritage Act 1973 refined both the definition of archaeological resources and and the protective powers of the Act for archaeological resources. The result was very effective control of all archaeological activities and resources in Alberta.

In addition to archaeological excavations undertaken and sanctioned by the Survey, activity in this area continued within the PMAA. From 1973 PMAA archaeological research on historic and prehistoric sites continued. Paleontological resources gained greater importance throughout the 1970's and exhibits were developed within the PMAA.

The interest in both paleontological and archaeological resources and their continued investigation by the PMAA resulted in the further

development of two major and one minor interpretive centre in the 1980's. Plans for their development were well underway in the late 1970's. In the 1980's, the Tyrell Museum of Paleontology, the Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump Interpretive Centre and the Strathcona Archaeological Centre were built through the efforts of the PMAA, the Historic Sites Service Branch and the Archaeological Survey.

In the historic book program area, the historical publication grants program for local groups was initiated in 1965.(Alberta. Department of the Provincial Secretary, Annual Report 1965, 41) The grants were assigned through the Provincial Museum and Archives Branch of the Provincial Secretary's Department.

Thereafter grants for the development of local histories were offered through the PMAA until 1973. The program continued after the establishment of the Alberta Heritage Act 1973 and in 1974, through Alberta Regulation 254/74, the local history grants were formally set in place.(Alberta Gazette, Alberta Regulations, 1974) Under regulation 6(2) a grant not exceeding $5,000 could be allocated to local groups for editing and printing. This grant program remained in place into the 1980's.

In the archival program area, the Provincial Museums Branch in 1963 began to actively select archival material for the provincial archives. In 1965 the first provincial archivist was appointed and the program of gathering archival material accelerated.

In 1966 An Act respecting Provincial Archives was passed by the SC government in preparation for the PMAA official opening. The Act officially established the existence of the provincial archives, broadened the definition of archival documents, and created the Public Documents Committee to screen all government documents for archival potential. Public documents from all Departments now had to be preserved indefinitely until examination by the archival committee. (Sections 8 and 9) The Department could designate any government documents as valuable archival material.

The Provincial Archive's reputation rose with the accumulation and organization of material. Programs of display throughout the

province grew in popularity and it extended advisory services to local groups.(Alberta. Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation, Annual Report, 1971, 47)

In 1973 Public Records Management was an important section of the Alberta Heritage Act. The definition of "public records" was expanded and disposition schedules for each Department's public records were established along with the appointment of records officers responsible for the management of these records.

The Act represented a major government initiative in the preservation of Alberta's archival records, creating an administrative structure which was of great assistance in the examination and determination of public records. The result was significant protection of archival records and a systematic method of determining future archival material from public administrative bodies. To assist this government initiative on archival policy, public records regulations 177/73 and 283/74 were among the first Alberta Heritage Act 1973 regulations produced by the Department of CYR.(Alberta Gazette, Alberta Regulations, 1973 and 1974)

In the 1970's, the Provincial Archives continued to extend its services to the community through workshops and technical advice to local historians in the collection of local archival materials. In addition, archival displays were available to the public and toured many small centers in the province.

The first signs of a cemetery designation and restoration program began in 1974 with an Historic Cemeteries Survey by the Division. The preliminary survey of more than 1,300 cemeteries was conducted to determine if any merited preservation and/or restoration because of historical significance.

The initial interest in cemetery restoration was followed by cemetery restoration grants through regulation 254/74.(Alberta Gazette, Alberta Regulations, 1974) Under regulation 8, the Minister could allocate up to $1,000 matching funds to a museum or corporation. The grants were initiated with the museums grants in 1974, then suspended and reintroduced in 1978 through regulation

111/78.(Alberta Gazette, Alberta Regulations, 1978) Soon after, in that same year, the amount for cemetery restoration was increased to $2,000.(Alberta Gazette, Alberta Regulations, 1978, Regulation 244/78) The Cemetery Restoration Assistance Program continued to be very popular in the 1980's.

Summary

From 1963 to 1979, historic resources development policy continued to be affected by the emphasis on social/cultural policy development(initially taken up by the SC government and then enhanced by the PC government after 1971), the enormous revenues from the oil and gas industry, and increasing demands from the growing population.

In the early 1960's, the development of provincial historic resource policy took on a new dimension through the consolidation of most historic resource program administration within the Provincial Secretary's Department. Of particular importance was the holistic vision and persistence of R.O. Harrison which was to provide the blueprint for the development of historic resource policy through the 1960's and 1970's. From 1960 to 1973 historic resource policy was dominated by the PMAA as the major administrative structure. Museums programs at the provincial level received the most attention while other historic resource policy areas developed slowly.

Historic resource policy development was hampered by the lack of significant protection and development legislation as well as the number of Acts and Departments responsible for the Acts. Coordination between Departments was a major problem as was the lack of major funding for historic resource development other than the two major museums, the PMAA and the Glenbow.

In the 1960's and 1970's there was increasing public demand for cultural and heritage programming. The SC government built the PMAA and assisted in the development of the Glenbow Museum and established both in legislation. The 1970 Alberta Heritage Act was

significant in that it recognized and enshrined the PMAA and its attendant museums, archives and historic sites programs in legislation. The PC government, aided by the "behind-the-scenes" work of Harrison and Forbis, responded with the Alberta Heritage Act, 1973, a comprehensive piece of heritage legislation which brought all heritage preservation legislation in Alberta under one Act and within one Department. The development of the administrative structure and provincial historic resource programs accelerated through the 1970's initially under Harrison and after 1975 under John Lunn.

However, there were a number of factors which effectively delayed implementation of the Act. The development of the planning and administrative structure necessary to consummate the Act was a time consuming process. The provincial government chose not to carry out the full intent of the Act because of political considerations, a lack of funding and the ". . . shear time it took to identify, rationalize, and priorize which resources to develop and where."(Harrison, 1992) Local historic resource development was delayed because of local governments' indifference to the importance of local historic resources. Finally, private and municipal cooperation in historic resource protection was impeded by economic considerations which favoured the demolition of older structures.

As the 1970's drew to a close, the division was able to concentrate on producing an acceptable master plan for historic resource development. The introduction of new personnel, notably Byrne and Pannekoek, initiated the development phase of Alberta's historic resources. The master plan, combined with advancement in the inventory of Alberta's historic resources, formed the basis for the development of major historic resource projects in the 1980's.

CHAPTER FIVE

Crowsnest Pass Historic Resource Policies and Activities - 1963 to 1979

Chapter Five continues the review of historic resource policies by focussing on municipal historic resource policies and local Historic Society activities in the Municipality of Crowsnest Pass. Provincial historic resource policies are reviewed in the first section as external influences while the Pass political, economic and demographic situations are reviewed in the second section as internal influences. Following this, in the third section, is a narrative of local Historic Society activities, municipal policies, and provincial influences on local historic policies and activities according to the particular policy program area. The final section is an analysis of the provincial and local policy/activity development process during this time period.

Provincial Policy Influence

By the late 1960's and early 1970's provincial officials had established that Pass historic resources were significant and relatively untouched. Throughout the 1970's senior government administrators in the Department of CYR were trying to plan for the development of these historic resources. Until the late 1970's there was little that they could do within the existing grant and funding structures beyond encouragement, technical advice and minor grants for local historic preservation and development action.

In 1973/74 the Archaeological Survey co-sponsored a Pass archaeological project with the University of Calgary.(Alberta, Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation, Annual Report,

1973/74, 84) The University spent a considerable amount of time investigating Pass archaeological sites. Project leader Dr. Reeves assisted the Crowsnest Pass Historical Society(Society) in its efforts to initiate action for the preservation of sites and structures.(see p. 137)

In addition, it was in 1973/74 that the Department of CYR undertook the historic cemeteries survey to determine if any provincially significant cemeteries should be designated. The Society became involved in this process by promoting the Hillcrest cemetery designation.

In 1975 provincial policy also had an impact on Pass historic resource development. The re-alignment route of highway #3 through the Pass, which would have destroyed significant local historic resources, was opposed by the Society. Highway development was halted through the cooperative efforts of the Society and local councils and Historic Sites Service staff subsequently initiated The Crowsnest Pass Highway Impact Study.(Alberta, Alberta Culture, Annual Report, 1975/76, 63)

In 1977/78 the Historic Sites Service began planning for Pass development through preparation of an interpretive strategy.(Alberta. Alberta Culture, Annual Report, 1977/78, 28) Provincial activity continued in 1978/79 as Alberta Culture maintained its partnership with the University of Calgary archaeological field school investigating Lille townsite. The Historic Sites Service Branch completed a Pass bibliography in the same year. In addition, through the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation and in conjunction with local inventory grants, an inventory of Pass historic structures and sites was undertaken.(Alberta. Alberta Culture, Annual Report, 1978/79, 28)

In 1979/80, the highway impact assessment continued as did the inventory of historic sites. The interpretation concept proposal for the Crowsnest Pass Historical Corridor was completed in that year as well.(Alberta. Alberta Culture, Annual Report, 1979/80, 29) In the early 1980's, under the province's Historic Area Designation Program, the Pass council was approached to establish old downtown

Coleman as a Provincial Historic Area with the necessary funding for development. Council, pre-occupied with other projects at the time (not the least of which was the development of its administrative structure after amalgamation) declined to participate and Alberta Culture continued in other ways to develop Pass historic resources.(Spatuk, 1990; Hurt, 1990)

From 1982 to 1986 the Department constructed two major sites in the Pass - the Leitch Collieries and Frank Slide Interpretive Centres. Thereafter provincial government activity continued in a support role of the Crowsnest Pass Ecomuseum Trust which was established in 1986.

Internal Influences

The influences internal to the Crowsnest Pass included the political, economic and demographic dimensions which influenced the development of local policies and activities.

Political Influence

The Pass political situation continued to heavily influence local cultural policy. The strong community background of providing social, recreational and cultural support to racial group members still had some basis through staunch ethnic ties to particular communities.[1] As Anne Spatuk(1990) explained,

> . . . there had been fierce community rivalry . . . which goes back to the mining history. Each community had its own mine, and that was the economic force of their community . . . tremendous pride in each community's sporting teams. . . . So there was this sports rivalry plus this attachment to community based on the mining company and the employment. . . . . . .

---

[1]For more information on ethnic relations within the Pass see Appendix C: Crowsnest Pass History Up to And Including 1962.

each community built its own arena. Each tried to have better facilities than the other.

With intermarriage between residents of the different Pass communities and the influx of newcomers as a result of the economic diversification of the 1960's, these ethnic enclaves began to break down.(Lake, 1972)

Earlier in Pass history, after 1947, with the devastation of the local economy, the competition between towns had increased as each tried to attract industry and amenities - the location of such possibly meaning survival or demise. As Kenward(1971, 132) stated,

> From year to year . . . the Crowsnest Pass communities rely mainly on municipal assistance from the provincial government and moderate loans from the Municipal Financing Corporation. It is for this reason that when an opportunity arises to acquire an amenity or service of 'Pass-wide' significance, they will compete with one another. Because of the limited resources available to the Crowsnest Pass communities, these 'extras' are of particular importance and can actually be a determining factor in a community's growth and development. The state of affairs is such that although an additional service or amenity may attract private investment to a community, that community's resultant growth may cause hardship for its 'neighbors' and may even sound the deathknell for some of them. In other words, development in one location of a particular area, instead of being beneficial to other locations in that area, may very well cause widespread economic degeneration. The loss of population to a community which is enjoying growth has grave implications for communities which receive loans and financial assistance on the basis of population and equalized assessment criteria.

Each controversy surrounding the provision of Pass-wide amenities increased competition and local political friction.(Piercy, 1966, 23) In 1956, fierce debate ensued over the location of a new high school and led Coleman to build its own high school. In 1968

acrimonious debate over the location of a Pass swimming pool led to the eventual demise of the project.[1](Kenward, 1971, 135)

The provision of Pass services became more and more difficult. Each community found that it could not afford to replace existing infrastructure to meet growing needs or provide new infrastructure for new needs. Each was forced to work with other communities. This meant long and harsh annual debates on the fairness of the existing provision of services to each community. Jealousies arose according to whether council decided that another community was getting better service, whether it should renegotiate its economic commitments, or, whether it should drop out of the agreement altogether.(Council Meeting Minutes, Blairmore, Coleman, and Frank, 1963-1979)

In the 1960's and 1970's, intra-community competition, which stemmed from local rivalries, the protection of local government autonomy, and the desire to attract industry, amenities and thus greater population, led to the duplication of many cultural/recreation facilities and programs as each community provided its own. Thus, providing recreation and cultural amenities was also an economic strategy because the most amenable and vibrant community could attract and/or retain residents and industry.

In the Pass, the preservation of historic artifacts and structures prior to 1973 was not a concern and could possibly have been discouraged by tension between the communities. After 1973, through the formation of the Society, those wishing to promote historic preservation and development banded together to preserve Pass history. Even within the Society, however, there was a perceived need to accommodate the political situation. The Society felt it necessary to provide equal representation from three separate zones in the Pass with three directors for each zone.

---

[1]A 1968 proposal to build a Pass swimming pool was defeated after much debate although only Bellevue voted against it.

The Crowsnest Pass Citizen's Committee on Tourism and the Society's initial plans for the development of tourist services were opposed by many Pass citizens. As Laura Graham(1990) stated,

> The local people felt that this was their country. They enjoyed it and they had the perception that it was going to be like a second Banff . . . crowded, going down the street, elbow to elbow with people and if they went out to the lake, they rarely were next door to someone with noise and so on. . . . We would like to maintain the beauty of the wilderness, the quietness that goes with it.

Spatuk(1990) added,

> Not all felt that way. . . . a lot were very indifferent. But a lot of them really felt that. Especially people who were actively involved in fishing and hunting and so on. . . . People here in the valley were very private and resented any encroachment on what they thought were their rights.

The result was that citizens and thus municipal councils were wary of tourism development throughout the early 1970's.

But largely through the efforts of the Society, people slowly became aware of the history of the Pass and the importance of the local historic resources. Bradley(1990) summed up the Society's determination to preserve the history of the Pass.

> . . . we started as a group saying we wanted to . . . establish a museum in the Crowsnest Pass and that was the goal. . . . Knowing there was a great history in the Pass, knowing that people didn't recognize the potential and that there were some things that we wanted to do to preserve that history . . . we started to steamroll it from there. And as I said . . . the history book played an important role in getting people involved in that group . . . did just a fabulous job.

Given the fractured political scene, Pass land-use planning was a scattered and inefficient affair with each community duplicating the

development, for example, of recreation facilities, town administration, religious activities, educational programs and facilities, cemeteries, industrial development parks, refuse disposal systems, and sewage systems within the limited confines of the valley. The result was 'urban sprawl' with little control, coordination, or efficient use of land development.(Piercy, 1966, 9)[1]

Urban sprawl was evident in settlement activity on the edge of each community within Improvement District(ID)#10, beyond the control of municipal land-use by-laws.[2] Interviews with town officials in the 1960's identified the areas of settlement surrounding Coleman (Graftontown, Carbondale, Willow Drive and East Coleman) and the industrial development west of Blairmore as urban sprawl.(Piercy, 1966, 15) The Pass also lacked adequate housing for new residents while one third of the existing developed residential lots were below standard with regards to lot frontage or site area.(Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. 1969, 42)

What was termed urban blight was also prevalent throughout the Pass. The causes of blight were a high water table for a number of residential areas along the Crowsnest River, coal dust and coal workings from the colliery located close to residential areas, smoke and ashes from the lumber industry located close to residential areas, and, residential and commercial structures in need of repair, destruction or clean-up.(Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. 1969, 47)

The Oldman River Regional Planning Commission (ORRPC) was trying to influence the land use by-laws of Pass communities throughout the 1960's and 1970's. The incorporated Pass communities and settlements within ID#10 were included within the ORRPC area and participated in its planning and development processes. The commission was working to facilitate a coordinated regional land-

---

[1]Urban Sprawl is defined by Piercy as ". . . areas of essentially urban character located at the urban fringe but which are scattered or strung out, or surrounded by, or adjacent to undeveloped sites or agricultural uses."

[2]The Crowsnest Pass was located within I.D. #10 from 1963 to 1968 and then was included within I.D. #5 from 1969 to 1978.

use/economic development plan for the Pass but little was accomplished.

The Pass communities resisted these attempts and followed their own by-law and land-use development priorities.(Municipal Council, Bellevue, Blairmore, Coleman, Frank, Oldman River Regional Planning Commission and Improvement District Number 5. Municipal By-laws) Based on the lack of development controls and urban sprawl within ID land, the provincial government was apparently not very interested in orderly development either.

Within the context of Pass land use development, the development of municipal services such as water and sewage systems remained an often expensive proposition limited by the ability and/or desire of a particular community to provide funds for development. As Kenward (1971, 174) stated,

> . . . an analysis of the Crowsnest Pass situation suggests that communities confront problems which they are unable to surmount. In addition, it would appear that present provincial government legislation regarding loan arrangements etc. does little to alleviate the situation. As a consequence, it is seldom that the Crowsnest Pass communities see fit, once they are forced by necessity to embark upon a project such as a sewerage system, to ensure that the new facility will accommodate future growth and expansion. Concerned about keeping the mill rate down and other assessments at a minimum, these communities are not usually prepared to view the expansion or development of services with a great deal of foresight.

Because of the political situation, the lack of discretionary funds, and strong local opposition to serious tourism development, Pass municipalities participated only peripherally in the development of historic resource policies. It should be noted, however, that the Pass councils endorsed the preservation and development of Pass historic resources in principle in the mid-to-late 1970's through various municipal development bodies such as the Crowsnest Pass Development Project.

Tourism was a natural Pass industry because of its location in one of the most scenic areas of the Rocky Mountains and the fact that it was not located within a national or provincial park with stringent development restrictions. But the combination of the local political barriers and the lack of tourism services, prevalent urban blight, and competition from national parks to the north and south meant the Pass never reached its development potential.

The 1980's were different, however, because the amalgamated municipality of Crowsnest Pass proved that, even without significant local funding, the development of historic resources could be successfully nurtured through the use of municipal resources and creative financing. Further, citizen involvement could be encouraged through the sanction of historic resource development by the development of municipal plans and by-laws. Once the major political obstacle of competition between Pass municipalities was eliminated, the municipality found it much easier to commit resources for historic resource development.

Another factor was the increasing provincial historic resources presence through development in the Pass. The construction of both the Leitch Collieries and Frank Slides interpretive centres had a large part in making the local townspeople aware of the importance of their local historic resources. Fred Bradley(1990) best described the attitude of the local townspeople towards Pass historic resource development.

> The community wasn't that enthusiastic. In 1979/80 coal was still seen as the lifeblood of the Pass.. Historical tourism wasn't something that was on the community's agenda. There just wasn't the motivation to move the community. . . . . A lot of people just weren't aware, hadn't thought about how important these things were.

Tracy described the situation in the early 1980's when the Department began to seriously plan for the development of the provincially significant historic resources in the Pass. He described

the reaction of a few Pass residents at one of the Department's study sessions early in the 1980's.

> . . . the feeling was expressed that there was nothing worth preserving in the Pass by the local residents. Burn the whole thing down. It's a waste of money. There was a mainstreet coal district, particularly in reference to the Coleman main street. The attitude was, you know, torch the whole thing. Lack of recognition of what was there.(Tracy, 1990)

He described one particular incident that had a strong affect on department officials in 1982.

> Well, one event that stands out as very important to us was a joint Tourism and Culture information meeting that we held in the Pass for the development of the Coleman townsite. . . . Nobody came! . . . . . we called around and they said, we've had enough studies. That's the end of it. They[government] haven't done anything and they're not going to do anything and we're not going to anymore of these silly meetings. And that had quite a profound effect, I think, on a number of us. . . . They had pointed out . . that we had simply studied them to death. (Tracy, 1990)

However, despite this sometimes negative public sentiment, the situation turned around between 1982 and 1985. The two interpretive centres were built and Pass residents became aware that their history was indeed something to be preserved and displayed. Bradley(1990) stated,

> . . . it wasn't until the interpretive centre[Frank Slide] opened in 1985 that the movement came back. Plus the economic collapse of the community - the coal mine shut down, Phillips cable shut down, the logging industry shut down and the people in this community and other groups were looking for alternatives and identifying what were the strengths of the community. And with the interpretive centre opening, the people said, this is something we can build on. And then interest started developing and backing the ecomuseum.

Economic Influence

From the desolation of the depressed coal industry after 1947 the Pass economy recovered somewhat with the development of the Japanese market for coking coal in the 1960's. In addition, in 1963, the Federal government enacted legislation to grant tax concessions to new industrial projects within certain designated areas of static growth. The Blairmore National Employment Service District was the first such region to be chosen.(Piercy, 1966, 7)

The action stimulated the development of two industries and a third small supply industry in the Pass. As well, the construction of a gas processing and pipeline maintenance station brought further benefits. The diversification helped boost the local economy such that unemployment dropped and limited prosperity returned.

The moderate economic growth meant an increase in local population for the first time in decades. The influx of newcomers was necessary to handle the increasingly modernized, mechanized needs of industry and resulted in a demand for higher quality housing and other amenities. As Lake(1972, 152) stated,

> Most of these residents have come from areas which have less pollution and much better developed shopping centers, school facilities and other cultural activities. . . . There is a temporal correlation between the entry of these new residents into the Pass, and the marked improvement in, and the accelerated centralization of, service industries.

The development of road transportation and an efficient road network meant larger markets for a service community. Blairmore, Fernie and Sparwood developed into service centers to the detriment of other communities. They also drew the newcomers. Within the Pass, Blairmore began to gain both population and a larger share of the local service industry.

Though the Pass's economy seemed stable in the 1960's and early 1970's, the long-term future looked grim. The coal contracts for the area were for fifteen years, with no further guarantee of renewal.

This perpetuated the area's major economic reliance on the coal industry. (Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. 1969, 21)

For the late 1970's the forecasted increase in population due to immigration and birth rates meant that existing industry and future projections of industrial development would not generate enough job opportunities to keep pace.(Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. 1969, 21) Predictions, therefore, for the mid-to-late 1970's, indicated a net emigration of population and further local economic depression. Future prospects for attracting industry were dim since municipal services were of low quality and the municipalities unattractive.(Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. 1969, 39)

Throughout the 1970's, Pass municipalities continued to look for economic diversification. The aim was to attract any large industry to augment their municipal revenue/population. The economy remained stagnant as the search for new industry failed and attempts to develop the tourism industry received little or no municipal help. The economy became further depressed as the firms attracted by the 1963 federal incentive program either moved out(eg. Becker Drilling, 1970) or closed down(eg. Phillips Cable,1981). Coal, supported by other small industry, remained the dominant employer for the Pass.

The period 1963 to 1979 was significant for local historic resource development because the historic resource actions of the 1970's and 1980's were heavily influenced by local economic conditions. In 1963 ID #10, which enclosed the Pass municipalities, was included in the ORRPC. The inclusion of Pass communities in the ORRPC represented an attempt by the Provincial Government to address the economic problems of the Pass within the entire region. As well, in 1963, the Pass municipalities were included in a federal industrial tax incentive program in order to attract industry as a means of stimulating the local economy. These two actions were senior government attempts to assist with local economic depression.

The inclusion of the Pass communities in the ORRPC led to a 1965 study of administrative and social concerns to provide a basis for

planning economic and infrastructural improvements for the Pass. The study motivated early 1970's talks on municipal amalgamation.

The Pass area was composed of six geographically adjacent local government units interacting in the provision of municipal services. Logically, rationally, the Pass communities constituted one political and economic unit but social, political and economic differences led them to compete with each other. Administratively certain services were being amalgamated through the 1960's and 1970's - the school district, the recreation board, and RCMP policing.(Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. 1969, 92)

The Pass municipalities began to examine urban renewal programs in an attempt to address the issue of urban blight and urban sprawl. Urban renewal would mean greater appeal for industry due to improved infrastructure and aesthetics of the Pass communities. In addition, one political and economic voice would mean a concerted effort to attract and service industry within a controlled land-use development plan. The reduction of service and amenity duplication would mean certain economies of scale and higher service levels. Improvement in housing stock and the movement of industrial development out of residential areas would also increase the attractiveness of the area.(Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. 1969)

Throughout the 1970's the Pass communities participated in heated debates about the benefits of amalgamation.[1] In 1976, local interest and concern about possible coal reserves development and the inability of Pass communities to handle any large development led to the final amalgamation attempt. The Department of Municipal Affairs, fully supportive of previous amalgamation proposals, sponsored the latest proposal through a government study and the promise of transitional funding for the new administrative set-up and necessary urban improvements.

---

[1]For more detail on the amalgamation process see Appendix E: Amalgamation in the Crowsnest Pass.

In 1978 Pass residents voted in favour of amalgamation. The Provincial government enacted a special piece of legislation to facilitate the consolidation of the communities. Thereafter the new Pass administration developed with a single voice politically and economically. The result was a community better able to plan and act in a manner beneficial to the whole area.

Demographic Influence

In the 1960's the population drain brought about by the devastation of the local economy after 1947 began to level off.(see Figure 2, p. 41) With the establishment of new industry the population began to rise, although slowly. From 1966 to 1971 there was an increase of 519(8.35%) and again from 1971 to 1976 of 554(8.2%). The Crowsnest Pass region was one of the twenty-five slowest growing areas in Alberta according to the Department of Municipal Affairs, a direct contrast to the rapid growth of Alberta's population.(Jamieson, 1986, 8)

From 1976 to 1984 the Pass population was to remain steady showing a steady annual increase of 14(.2%) though this was most likely an estimation by municipalities in the years between census years. Further, with the closure of two major Pass industries in the 1980's Jamieson suggests that it is wise to assume that the population decreased.(Jamieson, 1986, 8)

Municipal Policies

In the 1970's Pass municipalities sporadically participated in local historic resources preservation and development. The municipalities approved of the Society's activities in principle through the development of cultural policy and some economic policy but they did not become actively involved until the late 1970's.

Historic resource activities were acknowledged through the 1973 development of the Crowsnest Pass Citizens Committee on Tourism

out of which the Society was formed.(see p. 124) Both Coleman and Blairmore were off and on members of the Chinook Tourism Region. The Tourism Committee, linked to the Historical Society, thus was sanctioned by Pass municipalities as an alternative to Chinook Tourism Region participation.

From its debut in 1973, the Society had attempted to include outside parties in historic resource preservation and restoration. In 1973, the Society's charter recognized local councils as possible partners and made provision for their interaction through status as voting members. (Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes-no date, 1973) However, municipal participation was very difficult to achieve. Major tourism development would not be tolerated by councils and residents.

In 1973, the Society contacted the councils regarding both a site for a museum and annual grants to finance local historic resource preservation.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, September 9, 1973) This early contact was unsuccessful due to both a lack of funds and a particularly unpopular suggestion by some members of the Committee on Tourism that the Pass be turned into a provincial park in order to facilitate government sponsored development of a tourist destination spot.(Spatuk, 1990; Kapalka, 1990)

In 1975 the Crowsnest Development Project(Project) was created. The Project fully supported the Society's attempts to develop the tourist industry but its influence was limited as it was a developmental, advisory body which had to rely on agreement among the Pass councils. In the mid 1970's it was unsuccessful in gaining Pass council consensus on historic resource proposals but it was instrumental in the development of plans for an historic village and in lobbying the local, provincial and federal governments for action on the development of the Pass tourist industry.[1](Bradley. Personal papers) The support

---

[1]The reference comes from correspondence between Mr. E. Fantin, chairman of the Crowsnest Pass Development Project and Don Getty, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, Oct 28, 1976.

provided by the Project once again provided tacit municipal approval of the Society.

One instance of good cooperation between the councils and the tourism/historic groups occurred during the lobby for the re-routing of the Calgary Power power line.(see p. 127) The combined lobby at the Energy Resources Conservation Board hearings was instrumental in having the power line re-routed. This cooperative effort was another instance of implied approval of the Society's activities.

Another indication of support of the tourist industry by Pass councils was the Highway 3 Association which was a cooperative venture by the councils to address the lack of tourism promotion by the Chinook Tourism Region.(Bradley, 1990) Though the Association was not formally set up until later in the 1970's, the councils participated in the development of the organization. Tacit approval of tourism development came through municipal participation in this Association.

The late 1970's cooperative activity of the councils was counterbalanced in part by actions regarding the preservation of Pass historic structures. One example of this was Coleman council's offer to give the Society artifacts that it would acquire through the demolition of old buildings.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, September 26, 1976) Further, where demolition was necessary for economic benefit, the demolition of a structure was accomplished by Pass councils. The Blairmore Canadian Pacific Railroad(CPR) station was demolished after the Society sought to acquire the building. The CPR station in Coleman had the same fate.

The period 1973 to 1979 closed with the actions of Pass councils united in only one major historic preservation project - the history book. The project was completed in early 1979 with some marginal financial support from councils. In the early 1980's the Pass council was approached by both Alberta Tourism and Alberta Culture to initiate an Historic Area Project to restore and develop Coleman's old business district. The council declined as other initiatives were

considered more important at the time. It wasn't until 1983 that council would again formally endorse any historic resource project.

Throughout this time period, though Pass councils gave implied moral approval and at times limited monetary support to the Society, there was little municipal government policy which had an effect on local historic resource development. Most policy was initiated through Society lobby efforts. The Society was the catalyst for municipal policy development up to 1983 when council realized the importance of the tourism industry for local economic development and began taking a greater role in historic resource development.

The Crowsnest Pass Citizen's Historical Society Activities

It was reported in a local newspaper that a meeting of seventy-five Pass residents was held in 1973.(Crowsnest Museum, 1973) They were "concerned" about the destruction of local natural and historic resources and the need to preserve them. The destruction of the resources was taking place at a much slower pace than the rest of Alberta but there was local and regional talk about cleaning up 'urban blight' to enhance the area for tourism development. From this group the Crowsnest Pass Citizen's Historical Society(Society) was formed.[1] The actions of the Society were the basis for all historic resource development from 1973 to 1979.

There were four main thrusts for the 1973 meeting: (1) a lobbying effort for a Pass provincial park; (2) organization efforts to determine what type of a memorial to erect for the RCMP Centennial; (3) the formation of a Crowsnest Pass Historical Society; and, (4) the formation of a Crowsnest Pass Tourist Committee.(Crowsnest Museum, no date, 1973) The purpose of the meeting was,

> . . . to bring together people who believed in the future of the Crowsnest Pass and also had concerns about the necessary tourism development and support and a belief that the historical

---

[1]The name was changed to the Crowsnest Historical Society on September 13, 1982.

> resources in the Crowsnest Pass were significant and should be preserved, and could play an important part in tourism development. (Bradley,1991)

The close association of historic preservation and tourism development was illustrated in the mandate of The Crowsnest Pass Citizen's Committee on Tourism.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, March 4, 1973) The objectives were:

> 1. . . . to promote the development of historical sires(sic) and monuments, and to preserve and display the history and artifacts of the Crowsnest Pass by any means possible.
> 2. To purchase, take on lease, acquire or hold lands or buildings for the purpose of a museum.
> 3. To receive, acquire and hold gifts, donations, legacies and devices.

From this committee, with its strong historical preservation objectives, the Society was formed.[1]

To facilitate equal representation and support from all Pass residents, the executive was composed of three representatives from each of three designated regions in the Pass: (1) Bellevue-Hillcrest, (2) Blairmore-Frank, and, (3) Coleman and the area from the BC border to and including ID #5 surrounding Coleman. The group began immediate action for historic resource development. Both Anne Spatuk and Fred Bradley were among the members of this Historical Society. Bradley was the Society's first treasurer and second president from 1974 to 1975 when he was elected to the Provincial Legislature as the representative for Pincher Creek/Crowsnest Pass. Spatuk succeeded him as president of the Society in 1976 and has held the position thereafter. The two have worked in separate political arenas for the common goal of the development of the Pass historic resources.

---

[1]The date of formation is not known but it is recorded in the Society's minutes, November 20, 1973, that both the Society and the Tourism Committee submitted briefs in lobbying for the preservation of Pass historic resources.

The formation of both the Committee on Tourism and the Society generated interest in the formation of another organization to develop Pass tourism. Bradley was involved in the organization of this group as well. The idea of the Highway 3 Association emerged and a series of meetings between representatives of the Pass communities and highway #3 communities were held in the early 1970's. The Association was set up to lobby respective governments for highway upgrading, common signage, and name, promotion of the highway as a tourist route through the mountains, and promotion of community tourist attractions along the route through Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia.(Bradley, 1990)

In the Pass the groups began to work together to lobby local, provincial and federal governments and organizations to promote tourism development. Natural scenic resources were promoted by the Committee on Tourism while historic resources were promoted by the Society.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, March 4, 1973) The Highway 3 Association worked to promote the Pass tourist resources within the larger interprovincial context.

On the advice of PMAA officials, the first act in preserving Pass history was a project to record pioneer memories on audiotape. (Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, March 25, 1973) The Society later initiated the idea of combining this project with a book on Pass history. From 1973 to 1975, the acquisition of documents, written records, and photographs continued along with the oral recording project.

In late 1975, unsuccessful in its early efforts to develop a museum, work on the book became the Society's first priority.(Spatuk, 1990) The group began to investigate history book grants and posted requests for historic materials and information in local newspapers.

Pass seniors groups responded to the appeals with both grant money and materials. Newspaper research was sponsored by the Blairmore seniors group while federal New Horizons funding, available for seniors projects, was obtained for the history book project. (Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 6, 1976) The

close ties with seniors groups and New Horizons federal funding was to be very helpful not only for the book project but for later museum development in 1983.

The Society worked on the book, while involved with other preservation efforts, until 1979. During this period it successfully approached Blairmore council for $2,000 towards purchase of copies of the book.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, March 31, 1977) Letters were sent to other councils and Coleman agreed to allocate $1,000. Other financing and work on the book was completed through goodwill and deposits in advance of publication. As an example of the magnitude of the project, and given the struggle that the group was going through trying to finance the preservation of built historic resources, the book was to cost over $70,000 to produce and take an enormous amount of volunteer time.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, September 7, 1977; Spatuk, 1990)

In February of 1979, the Society applied for and received the $5,000 provincial grant and, with the federal New Horizons grants, the book was published.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 8, 1979) The book Crowsnest and Its People became a major fundraiser for the Society.(Crowsnest Pass Historical Society Committee, 1980)

Beginning immediately after its formation in 1973, the Society's first major project was the preservation of the Frank Slide site(Slide). The Slide was treated with great respect because the whole area was viewed as a burial site. Continued disturbance of the site by commercial enterprises and vandals was viewed with alarm and disgust.

The Society contacted MLA Charlie Drain for information concerning its designation. The efforts resulted only in correspondence from the PMAA stating that there was a $500 grant available for a cairn on the site.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, February 24, 1974) The group spread the lobbying effort out to the federal government, contacting MP Joe Clark to designate the area as a national historic site.

Throughout 1974, continued correspondence was received from Clark concerning the designation of the Slide but nothing concrete came about. In the interim another threat to it appeared as Calgary Power wanted to construct a major power line directly through the site.

The tourism committee, Society, ORRPC and town councils joined forces in opposition to the route.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, November 20, 1973) An alternate route which took the power line entirely out of the valley was proposed and approved initially by the ORRPC.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, December 9, 1973) Later, briefs were presented to the Energy Resources Conservation Board and Calgary Power subsequently announced that it would follow a route along the northern ridge of the valley.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, March 19, 1974)

One threat to the Slide had been disposed of but others still existed. The Winnipeg Supply and Fuel Company had obtained a permit to remove the Slide rock for commercial purposes and the Society intensified its efforts to have the site designated. The Society wrote to Premier Lougheed protesting the issuance of the permit and continued lobbying the Department of CYR.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, June 26, 1974) Later in the year correspondence from the Department of CYR indicated that the Department of the Environment was proceeding with negotiations to purchase the Slide for designation as a Restricted Development Area.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, September 22, 1974)

In 1975, an official letter was sent to Fred Bradley, the new MLA, concerning the designation of Pass historic sites including the Slide. Two months later, the Society received a letter from the Minister of CYR stating that the sites mentioned were under consideration for designation.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, June 9, 1975) In 1976 the Society learned that some land under the Slide site had been purchased and recommended to cabinet for designation as a Provincial Historic Resource.

In late 1976, having heard nothing further about the matter, the Society dispatched letters to Bradley and Minister Horst Schmid to discuss both the Slide designation and a plan for the development of Leitch Collieries.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, November 25, 1976) Bradley replied that the Department of the Environment had designated the Slide a Restricted Development Area and was looking into purchasing further land under the Slide to add to that area.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, December 12, 1976; Bradley, 1992) Continued lobbying of provincial officials was rewarded in September 1977 as the Society was contacted by Bradley stating that the Slide had been designated a Provincial Historic Resource.

However, the Society was not finished with the site. Besides a memorial to the victims of the 1903 disaster, the Slide symbolized Pass history - the hardship and tragedy that many residents had endured. The Slide was integral to the interpretation of Pass history and the Society wanted to tell that story. The group continued to push for the development of some kind of Slide site interpretation in conjunction with Pass historic resource development.

One focus was the development of an historic village and museum somewhere close to the Slide.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, September 7, 1977) Another focus was the development of memorial services for the Slide victims. A commemorative coin of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the disaster was minted for fundraising and the Society invited Minister Horst Schmid, Fred Bradley and other dignitaries for the memorial ceremonies.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 2, 1978) The ceremony, complete with dignitaries, was repeated in 1983 marking the eightieth anniversary.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, March 14, 1983)

During the lobby against Calgary Power's proposed power line, the issue of the realignment of highway #3 came up.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 28, 1974) The proposed realignment route had undergone a Heritage Impact Assessment which recommended that the old Frank townsite and the Police Flats sites be

designated and purchased by the Department of CYR and that visitor facilities be set up at Police Flats.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 28, 1974) However the realignment plans had not taken this recommendation into account and damage to those sites and others was imminent.

The Society continued to lobby the Departments of Highways and CYR regarding the preservation of these sites along with other important historic sites in the Pass.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 28, 1974) The highway realignment lobby effort was successful as it was announced in September 1974 that there would be a second heritage impact assessment of highway #3 realignment. (Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, September 22, 1974) Construction was put on hold until the assessment was completed. Also, in June 1975, the Minister of CYR acknowledged the Society's designation requests and advised that they were under consideration.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, June 9, 1975)

The Department continued to act on the Society's request for designations of various sites. In January 1976, officials approached the Society for information on Leitch Collieries.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, January - no date, 1976) In March 1976, the provincial government notified the Society that Leitch Collieries had been designated.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, March 9, 1976) One major site in the path of highway realignment had been protected. In December 1976, the Society was informed that some Slide land had been purchased and designated as a Restricted Development Area. A second major site had been partially protected.

Prior to this, in April 1976, Dr. Reeves of the University of Calgary proposed a project for the preservation of the Lille coke ovens and townsite. The Society supported Reeves and the Lille project was approved. In January, 1978, this site was purchased by the provincial government and designated a provincial historic site.

In early 1978, the revamped realignment of highway #3 was proposed again. Anne Spatuk and other Society members toured the proposed route with officials from the Departments of CYR and

Highways and found further danger to one site - the coal tipple of the Greenhill Mine.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 23, 1978) The tour resulted in the finalization of the realignment route to minimize damage to this historic resource.

One of the first projects undertaken by the Society was the search for a museum/historic village site. Its attempts to establish an historic village stemmed from the idea of establishing both a major tourist attraction and a vehicle for the preservation of a number of threatened historic structures. The Society did not receive much local or provincial financial support regarding protection of these resources and its solution was removal of the buildings to a site for protection, restoration and interpretation.

The search for a museum as the Society's permanent home began almost immediately after the group's formation. The group contacted the PMAA for information about grants but none were available in 1973. However, officials did offer technical assistance. A committee was formed to look for both a museum site and local funding. The search for a museum site was to take ten years and become a great source of disappointment as hopes were alternately raised and dashed by various proposals.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, June 3, 1973) Attempts to gain museum grants from local councils also failed.

In 1973/74, the Society began to acquire entire buildings for preservation. There were various historic structures which were in immediate danger of destruction as well as others valued by the Society as historically significant. In order to facilitate the permanent preservation of these structures, a proposal for an historic tourist village was initiated. The search for a museum site became associated with the historic village proposal and the two were inseparable until the 1980's.

In early 1974 there arose a concern for Pass historic structures and sites which would be destroyed or damaged by the realignment of highway #3. (see p. 129) Realizing the Department of CYR's interest in the Leitch site, the Society began to lobby the Department for the development of an historic village/museum at the site. The group

thought that Police Flats(close to Leitch) would be a better location for its historic village as the land would be protected by the Heritage Act if the government followed the recommendations of the heritage impact assessment - that the government establish minimal visitor facilities at Leitch. The land at Frank was not of any particular historic value and thus efforts to purchase it would not receive enthusiastic support as would efforts at Police Flats. In addition, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police cairn was to be placed at Police Flats. (Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 28, 1974)

At the same time, the Society asked the Blairmore council for the Canadian Pacific Railway site for a museum until it could be moved to an historic village site. Blairmore council was unwilling and the station was later demolished.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, May 28, 1974)

In 1975, help arrived in the form of The Crowsnest Pass Development Project(Project), made up of representatives from all Pass municipalities. A product of the provincial government's rural development program, its purpose was to promote local economic development. The Project identified the tourism industry as having good economic potential and began to assist in development. Project Director Ron Hancock drafted several proposals for the establishment of a museum and historic village.

Throughout 1975/76 the Society continued to look for an existing building for the museum. Time and again it was turned down by individuals and companies that were holding on to structures, thinking that coal would once again become a valued commodity. Ironically, many of those structures were finally torn down because they were either dangerous or seen as urban blight.(Spatuk, 1990)

Further contact with the Department of CYR in 1975 revealed that there were small annual operating grants of $200 and possible annual grants of $5,000 or less which were matching grants of whatever funds had been raised by groups for museum purposes in the preceding year. (Alberta Gazette, Alberta Regulations, Regulation 254/74) In March 1976, the Society was advised by the Department of

CYR that it must have set objectives and a definite museum plan before that assistance would be forthcoming. Further, Department officials recommended that the Society build a structure which would satisfy specific museum needs.

In early 1976, the proposal to develop an historic village at Police Flats gathered momentum. Contact with provincial officials and a major presentation to the Highway #3 Impact Assessment Team emphasized the Society's interest. In addition, the Project put forward a brief, A Proposal for a Coal Miner's Museum and Historical Village in the Crowsnest Pass, endorsed by the Society.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 6, 1976)

The Society intensified its efforts as committees were initiated to look into the purchase of the land, to prepare plans, and to prepare a further presentation. The Society began negotiations for the land around Police Flats/Leitch Collieries but the price was too high and Provincial and Federal heritage officials were contacted concerning purchase and development of the historic village complex. Alberta Culture, following the recommendations of the Heritage Impact Assessment, began negotiations.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 28, 1976) However, Alberta Culture also discouraged the idea of an historic village at Police Flats and recommended the placement of the village in or close to a populated area.

In January, 1976, Alberta Culture completed the purchase of Leitch Collieries and approved its designation as a provincial historic resource.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, January - no date, 1976) The Society continued its lobby effort for provincial development of a visitor center on the site and in December 1976 the Department of Transportation constructed a highway turn-off and interpretive signage.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, December 12, 1976)

Following the advice of Department of CYR officials, the Society began to look in the Pass communities for a museum/historic village site. In July 1976, the Blairmore Courthouse was rumored available and was put forward as a possible museum.(Crowsnest Historical

Society, minutes, July 13, 1976) The Society executive met with Blairmore council about acquiring the courthouse and other town reserve land for an historic village.

To facilitate the Blairmore initiative Project Director Hancock submitted a proposal for a museum and historic village in Blairmore. It recommended approaching Frank and Blairmore councils for support for federal/provincial funding through Neighborhood Improvement Program(N.I.P.) grants applied for by the municipalities. The museum was proposed within either of the two municipalities.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, December 12, 1976) The proposal was accepted by the councils and the grants applied for but the N.I.P. criteria could not be met because the proposal was for a regional museum rather than local one.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, March 14, 1977)

Despite the setback the Society continued to lobby Blairmore council for land on which to locate the museum/historical village and was successful.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, March 31, 1977) In the meantime the Society continued to look for funding and approached the Pass recreation board for a cultural grant from the Department of CYR. The board was very receptive but the issue created controversy as political competition between the Pass communities began to flare up.

The Blairmore recreation board was in favour of applying for a $20,000 cultural grant with the condition that the other communities agree. Bellevue said that it would follow Coleman's lead. Coleman council agreed with the grant application but on the condition that the museum be located in Frank or somewhere close and it began looking in the Frank area.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 21, 1977)

The Society investigated land in the Frank Slide but were deterred by complicated negotiations due to multiple ownership of the land under the Slide.(Spatuk, 1990) That option was rejected because the recreation board needed a quick decision.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, November 4, 1977) The Frank council rejected the

development within its boundaries because it was not financially capable of handling the accompanying development and was not willing to allow an access road through a residential area.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, December 5, 1977)

Meanwhile, Coleman council continued to agitate for a different location, offering its CPR station as a site.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, September 7, 1977) The Society declined stating it would cost too much to move the station to an eventual historic village site.

The last alternative was a site proposed by Fred Bradley on crown land overlooking the Frank Slide. Bradley contacted the Department of Transportation and found that providing services for the land would be very expensive. Further to this, contact with Alberta Culture revealed that it was considering several future options for this site including an interpretive centre with a museum.

The historic village/museum project was stymied once again. The group decided to delay the historic village and museum project because of possible co-operation with Alberta Culture for a museum on the site. Society president Anne Spatuk(1990) stated,

> . . . we had to turn down the grant of $20,000 and the land back to the town of Blairmore and we had to . . . bide our time because there's nowhere we could have built with $20,000. We had no collateral. . . . we hadn't finished our book yet and we were doing that on goodwill and people putting down deposits and so on. . . . So we had to bide our time until 1983.

The project was to surface again very soon. The Alberta Historical Resources Foundation became involved as it met with the Society concerning Pass historic resources.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, September 10, 1978) The Foundation stated that it would like to do an inventory of historic structures in an effort to recommend to the provincial Historic Sites Board which local structures should be designated. The executive director Arthur Gregg also suggested that the Society present a brief to the Board concerning its plans for historic preservation. Subsequently the inventory was

initiated and a presentation drafted by the Society.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, May 27, 1979)

In October 1979, the brief on three locations for an historic village and museum was presented to the Board. The Board stated that its unanimous choice was Police Flats. The idea for development on this site was rekindled based on this encouragement.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, October 21, 1979)

At the suggestion of Fred Bradley, the Society decided to focus its attention on the Police Flats Historic Village/Museum Project and renewed its government lobby for assistance.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, December 16, 1979) At a meeting sometime between December 16, 1979 and April 5, 1982, the Society was advised by Alberta Culture officials that an historic village project anywhere in the Pass would not receive government support.[1] Tracy(1990), chief of planning for Historic Sites Services, recalled,

> . . . and we discussed really what we thought their resources in the Pass were . . . and suggested that it would be better to develop a number of in-situ resources rather than move these things around. . . . they eventually concurred though I suspect that, in hindsight, not with the enthusiasm that we might have hoped for.

The Society was frustrated once again and the historic village/museum project was dropped in consideration of Alberta Culture's plans for the area. A statement by Cartlidge(1980, vi) put the situation in perspective.

> The option to create a centralized tourist attraction by relocating historic structures to a 'historical village' site must be rejected because of Alberta Culture's mandate to protect historic sites in their original locations. Relocation would destroy the integrity of the historic environment which in the Pass is the unique feature to develop.

---

[1]There is a gap in the Society meeting minutes between these two dates.

Meanwhile, the search for funding for a museum had continued. In 1979, the Society successfully approached the newly amalgamated municipal council for support. The municipality did not have local funding but the Society and council applied for a $20 per capita grant for Alberta's seventy-fifth anniversary. The grant was obtained and council placed a lump sum of $80,000 in trust for the construction of a museum.

From 1980 to 1982 the museum search was overshadowed as the Society became involved in the development of the Leitch Collieries and Frank Slide Interpretive Centres which had been approved by Cabinet. Initially, and later as a member of the Crowsnest Pass Historical Corridor Advisory Committee, the Society became involved in the research and planning of the two sites.

In 1983 the search for a museum was narrowed down to two Pass historic structures, the Blairmore Courthouse and the Coleman High School.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, January 10, 1983) The Society began discussions with the school board and municipal council about the two sites. The Coleman High School was chosen for the museum and municipal council acquired the building and leased it to the Society for $1 per year in perpetuity.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 14, 1983) Later, in another show of support, municipal council voted for tax-free status for the museum. On August 24, 1985, twelve years after the initiation of a search for a museum site, renovations were completed and the Crowsnest Museum was officially opened.

Another major Society activity was the protection and preservation of Pass historic structures. As demonstrated, the Society's strategy for preservation was the designation of major historic sites and the acquisition and placement of some structures in an historic village. After 1980, in co-operation with the Provincial government, the group concentrated on the designation and interpretation of historic structures in-situ.

In early 1973, the first building acquired was a blacksmith shop from Blairmore.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 8,

1973) For the next two years the Society looked for funding and an historic village/museum site to accommodate preservation of this first structure because the grant for dismantling and reconstruction of the building was not available unless the building was restored on a particular site.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, September 20, 1973) Unsuccessful in its attempts to find an historic village/museum site, the group raised its own funds and dismantled and stored the building for future restoration.

In November 1973, the Society became interested in the historic buildings of Coleman, in particular the Coleman Journal Building. It initiated contact with the owner about the plans for the structure. (Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, January 14, 1974) Negotiations with the owner were long and fruitless but interest was rekindled in 1979 when the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation expressed interest in the Pass resources. However, once again nothing came of the renewed negotiations.

Finally, in 1984 the Foundation contacted the Society concerning three houses in Blairmore for possible preservation purposes. (Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, June 21, 1984) The Society replied asking that in addition the Foundation also look at acquiring the Coleman Journal building.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, July 3, 1984) In November 1984 the Society was asked to approach the owner once again to donate the building and contents to the Foundation. The Society did so and the owner agreed.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, November 4, 1985)

The preservation of archaeological sites was another preservation activity of the Society. The Pass, being an ancient, much-travelled corridor through the mountains, had many archaeological sites and became the focus for extensive archaeological investigation by Dr. Barney Reeves.

Reeves had been investigating Pass archaeological sites since 1972 and became involved in the Society through presentations at Society meetings. Following this, he helped the Society develop an historic resource inventory and lobby for the designation and preservation of

sites. In return, the Society supported Reeves in the investigation and protection of Pass archaeological sites.

In early 1975, an archaeological site was reported endangered by a proposed pipeline through the Pass. The Society and Reeves began the process of lobbying for site excavation and the possible rerouting of the pipeline.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 13, 1975) MLA Fred Bradley was contacted concerning resistance to changing the pipeline route.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, May 28, 1975)

The Pass archaeological sites included the Lille and Crowsnest Canadian Pacific Railroad(CPR) base camp cemeteries. Both were identified as sites which were threatened by highway realignment. The Society hired Reeves on a grant to conduct a cemetery search at Lille and the Chinese cemetery at Crowsnest - part of the CPR Construction Base Camp.(Spatuk, 1990) Upon completion of those projects, Reeves continued with his Pass archaeological work with the full support of the Society.

The preservation and development of local historic cemeteries was an important part of the Society's activities. Pass mining history was intertwined with several mining tragedies, and the cemeteries were an important aspect of the preservation and interpretation of that history.

The first activity of any sort involving cemetery preservation was that involving the designation of the Frank Slide area. During the controversy over the designation of the Slide, the matter of the designation and restoration of the Hillcrest Mine Disaster area and cemetery was launched.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, January 28, 1974) The Department of CYR was interested in the site and suggested that the Society erect a cairn and restore the cemetery.

The Hillcrest group did not follow through and the project was abandoned by the Department. In April 1982 the Society re-opened the project and approached council and the Department of Culture to take action on preservation, restoration and site signage.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 28, 1982) The Society wanted the

cemetery designated and applied for a grant through the cemetery restoration program.

Council made a commitment to assist the Society with manpower, materials and equipment in the restoration of the cemetery if the cemetery grant was obtained.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 20, 1982) Alberta Culture sent officials to examine the site and approved the designation and the grant provided council agreed because the property was municipally owned. After many delays, in January 1984, the municipal Economic Development Committee agreed to undertake the restoration of the site and in December 1984 council approved the designation.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, December - no date, 1984)

There were two other instances of cemetery preservation activity in the Pass. In 1975, the Society applied for and was awarded cemetery grants for Lille and the CPR Base Construction Camp at Crowsnest Lake. The sites were investigated but never restored because it was felt that their isolation only invited vandalism.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, October 30, 1975)

The development of adequate signage for Pass historic sites was another important aspect of the Society's drive for historic preservation and development. The Society was instrumental in lobbying both local and provincial governments for the design and placement of signage which would adequately interpret the resources and draw the tourists into the communities. Earlier point-of-interest signs had been placed at scenic locations and the Society was actively involved in the replacement and upgrading of these.

In the mid 1960's a locomotive has been acquired and set up as a 1967 Centennial project for Blairmore by a group of businessmen. In April 1974, the Society had approached Blairmore council regarding acquisition of the CPR station to preserve and interpret the CPR in the Pass along with the locomotive. In the 1980's the Society developed interpretive signage for the locomotive site.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 28, 1974)

The Society was also responsible for lobbying for all the local historic cairns. The first cairn was the R.C.M.P. memorial erected at Police Flats. A second cairn was constructed at the Frank Slide site and a third cairn was constructed at the Hillcrest cemetery site.

Another project that received considerable attention was a federal government plan for a cairn commemorating the Pass. Parks Canada was willing to commemorate the Pass as a major historic route. (Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, April 5, 1982) There were two attempts to complete the project and in August 1986 the ceremony did take place and a cairn was erected at Crowsnest Lake.(Crowsnest Historical Society, minutes, August 24, 1986)

The above instances of advocacy for the protection and preservation of Pass historic resources portray the detail and tenacity of the Society in its preservation attempts. The Society, from 1973 to 1985, was to lead the movement to protect Pass historic resources. After 1985, the Society, having acquired the museum building, developed and maintained the museum for the preservation of artifacts and historic records - a full-time job.

The Society was still actively involved in advocacy for historic resources but through membership on other historic bodies and in conjunction with the strong Department of Culture presence. Advocacy for the preservation of historic resources came to be the responsibility of all Pass historic groups.

Anne Spatuk, as the third and continuing president of the Society, was the leader of a group of "dedicated volunteers" which played a major role in the lobby for the successful preservation of many significant historic resources in the Pass. Many showed respect for Spatuk's persistence and tenacity in her leadership role throughout the 1970's and 1980's.(Milne, 1990; Tracy, 1990) Lunn(1990) stated,

> The historical societies of the area were seminal. . . . Quite a lot came from those people who were interested in the museum down there. . . . . there were a lot of people who were involved in the historical societies locally who were lobbying.

The Society executive's tenacity and willingness to continue in the face of repeated disappointment in their search for both a museum and historic village site speaks volumes in itself. Perhaps their worth should be weighed in their accomplishments - the production of the historic volume Crowsnest and Its People; the preservation of Leitch Collieries, Frank Slide, Lille, Greenhill Tipple, archaeological sites and others of historic significance in the Pass; the fundraising efforts which raised major amounts of money - the interest from which pays for the day-to-day operations of the Crowsnest Museum to this day; the acquisition of a museum building and the formation of the Crowsnest Museum with the accompanying historic artifacts catalogued and displayed; and, finally, the raising of the consciousness of Pass citizens and elected officials to the importance and significance of the Pass historic resources throughout the increasingly important 1970's when economic development so threatened the Pass historic sites. All represent significant achievements for a small group which encountered formidable obstacles and showed the persistence and doggedness to complete major projects.

Fred Bradley, as the first treasurer and the second president of the Society, was involved in the development of the Crowsnest Pass Citizen's Committee on Tourism and the Society. In the early years of the Society, its members lobbied tourism and culture officials and the various ministers involved and brought them down to view the Pass by helicopter.(Lunn, 1990; Schmid, 1990; Bradley, 1990) Society officials, with Bradley heavily involved, continued this lobbying practice throughout the 1970's. In addition, Bradley's strengths in the larger political arena began to show through leadership in the Highway 3 Association which lobbied BC, Alberta and Saskatchewan governments for highway upgrading and tourism promotion for the communities along the highway.

With his election to the provincial legislature in 1975, Bradley's involvement in the development of local historic resources intensified as he was able to work directly with other provincial officials to promote and protect local historic resources. He indicated that it was

the Society which initiated many historic preservation projects which they then passed on to him and he proceeded to contact the particular government Departments involved for assistance and clearance of the projects.(Bradley, 1990; Lunn, 1990; Spatuk, 1990)

Lunn(1990)recalled,

> Fred Bradley was definitely a key player there, particularly in the early years of Mary LeMessurier's ministry. But we'd known of Fred and heard of Fred before that. . . . When Fred Bradley became MLA, he was particularly interested in history as a topic and he was a bright, keen, young type. . . . I'd have to say that Fred Bradley himself was one of the principle architects. . . . . Fred deserves a lot of the credit . . . for getting government to actually decide to do certain major things. . . . This was an initiative that Fred took with Mary[LeMessurier] and I think you've got to give much of the credit to Fred. But it fitted in with our plans for those historic sites. This plan[the Cartlidge study -Crowsnest Pass Historical Resources Development Proposal] was printed after Fred Bradley got into the act.

As indicated by Lunn, the rapport that Bradley developed with various tourism and culture officials was valuable in gaining input into the preservation and designation of various historic sites and the preparation of Alberta Culture's interpretation plan for the development of Pass historic resources.(Lunn, 1990; Milne, 1990) Bradley(1990) stated,

> I worked with departmental people and other individuals and developed a very good relationship with officials in the departments, some of whom are still there - Dr. Pannekoek, Bill Byrne, and the Deputy Ministers of Culture over that period of time.

Bradley was involved in the preparation of and presentation to Pass council of the Crowsnest Pass Historical Resources Development Proposal, by Cartlidge, which was based on the development of one

theme of the provincial Master Plan for historic resource development. Bradley(1990) stated,

> . . . our thoughts were that we would put some anchor facilities in and we looked at what could be done the quickest and what would be the most feasible and decided that Leitch was one that could be moved on very quickly and the second facility would be the interpretive facility at Frank Slide and the other two projects, Lille and Greenhill would be something that would have to await further decisions. But you thought that by putting two major facilities, Leitch and Frank Slide, in that the community would build on that in terms of historical tourism and start to develop the ecomuseum.

Bradley had been lobbying for historic resource development funding from Alberta Culture to develop the local historic sites of the Pass but Pass residents and council weren't that enthusiastic and the opportunity, as presented to council, was rejected and they lost the money allocated for the Coleman Historic District project.(Bradley, 1990)

Bradley's work to acquire funding for Pass historic resource development had to start again in 1985 once community awareness and support of local historic resources development rose. Once the major provincial facilities at Leitch and Frank Slide had been constructed and Council began to seriously consider the development of the historic resources as a local tourist industry, Bradley began to lobby again for major funds for development of the local resources.

> . . . I had been lobbying for it for four or five years. . . . . Culture and Lotteries both and I kept being told 'Be patient. We have to wait until funding commitments to other areas have been fulfilled.' I think if we hadn't done the work earlier, in terms of ensuring that we were in line for some funding, we may not . . . have that funding today.(Bradley, 1990)

Bradley also assumed a leadership role in the amalgamation of the Pass communities in 1977/78 - a significant occurrence in the

economic development of the Pass and the first regional government in Alberta. Throughout this entire process Bradley was doing his job as the social and economic advocate for his constituents. Many social and economic firsts were brought to the Pass through Bradley. When asked what social and economic policies of the PC government he utilized to promote the Pass he stated,

> Well, I think . . . this one of balanced economic growth throughout the province, it certainly played a key role in looking at the Pass and recognizing that it was desirable to see economic activity take place there. Certainly through the planning of the rural development project, . . . that acted as a catalyst. The Pass had been a guinea pig. I think it was the first regional recreation board that had been set up for example. . . . The Family and Community Support Program, I think it was, piloted there. The N.I.P. program . . . the Pass as a first.(Bradley, 1990)

As can be ascertained, the promotion and preservation of the historic resources of the Pass had been accomplished through the cooperation of Bradley and the Society in the 1970's with the result that many significant resources were first preserved and two sites later developed as provincial interpretive centres. This preservation and promotion work laid the groundwork for the 1980's development of the historic sites of the Pass.

The significance of this 1970's groundwork cannot be overlooked as it was responsible for the preservation of what was later to be developed. In addition, it raised the consciousness of both the provincial government and the local townspeople as to the importance of the Pass historic resources.

In addition, Pass historic resource development, as a major means of Pass economic diversification, was pushed effectively by Bradley. His vision of the tourist industry, through the overall development of all Pass historic resources, was delayed by council in the early 1980's but was finally realized through the development of the Pass Ecomuseum in 1986 and the initiation of many local Ecomuseum

projects through the major historic resource funding he brought to the Pass in 1989.

The Historical Society Individual Program Activities

Within the Society's historic resource development activities, seven activity areas can be determined - museum, site marking, historic site designation and development, archaeological, historic book, archival, and cemetery restoration.

A significant part of the Society's lobby effort to protect local historic resources through provincial designation and purchase of local sites was successful. In addition, the fact that the 1973 Act and programs were in place provided the Society with the opportunity for substantial local site protection and interpretation. It is doubtful that local historic resource development would have proceeded as far as it did without the Society's efforts to gain as much existing provincial program support as possible.

One of the first identified projects was the search for a museum building. Throughout its search, the Society was delayed by its inability to access provincial grants for small local museums. When grants were forthcoming through N.I.P. and recreation/cultural major facility grants, a technicality and the local political situation stopped those attempts at museum development. It wasn't until a special grant program for the province's seventy-fifth anniversary was set up that the Society acquired a large grant to assist museum development.

Finally, in 1983, all circumstances for the development of the museum came together. As a result of positive action by the municipality, the seventy-fifth anniversary funding, the acquisition of additional federal funding, and the availability of a museum site, the museum project went ahead.

Efforts to identify and build a Pass museum can be interpreted as Society pressure on provincial policy as it was constantly lobbying the Department for museum funding. The provincial museum program had monies to offer but the Society had difficulty accessing that

museum and cultural facility development funding that was available. The Society did access technical aid from PMAA officials throughout the provincial museum development campaign.

Further, all attempts to link the Society's local historic village/museum project to Department plans failed as the Department of CYR wanted no part of a project which moved historic structures off-site, destroying their historical integrity. The Department preferred to sanction projects which maintained the historical integrity of the project and the artifacts involved.

The Pass municipal governments did not have any formal historic resource policy and in certain instances were drawn into plans to develop the museum in conjunction with the museum/historic village site. However, municipal councils were supportive in principle of the preservation and development of Pass historic resources. At other times, the municipal councils refused to allocate resources for museum development because of financial restrictions. However, in the mid 1980's the amalgamated council became more supportive financially of the Society's plans and provided significant help in securing the museum building and allowing local tax-relief.

From its formation the Society was aware of provincial historic sign/cairn marking policies and the need for signage to both interpret sites and guide tourists. The Society actively solicited the replacement, upgrading and enhancement of Pass natural scenic and historic site signage throughout the 1970's and 1980's. It also acted as an advocate for the interpretation of local sites through application for local sites signage which probably would not have occurred otherwise.

The Society utilized provincial historic resource policy in another manner. Its major concern was the preservation of threatened historic resources. The Society, after the passage of the 1973 Alberta Heritage Act, was forced to wait for the development of both the Department's administration and the historic site grant regulations of 1976. The province was being very selective of which sites it would purchase/designate before the historic site grant regulations were approved. The Society used significant political pressure through

lobbying to accelerate government action in support of the preservation of Pass historic resources.

The Society's Frank Slide lobby concerning a sacred local site, which was callously being disturbed by a commercial enterprise(with the consent of the provincial government), caused some government discomfort. Parts of the site were purchased in 1976, protected by the Department of the Environment as a Restricted Development Area, and then protected through the Historical Resources Act as a Provincial Historic Resource in 1977.

The highway realignment controversy was another instance of Society lobby pressure. The Society brought the recommendations of the first highway impact assessment, which had not been taken into account by the Department of Transportation, to the attention of Alberta Culture. The lobby resulted in the cessation of construction and raised concerns about the destruction of a number of significant sites if the development went ahead as planned. A second impact assessment was ordered and the Leitch Collieries site was purchased in August, 1976 as the 1976 historic site grant regulations came into being.

The second impact assessment was to have ramifications into the 1980's as Society members lobbied for the designation and preservation of Frank historic sites as well as the Greenhill mining site. The Greenhill coal tipple was in the path of the second highway realignment route and was preserved at the last minute through Society efforts. The designation of many Pass historic sites was to come later in the 1980's through the efforts of the Ecomuseum Trust but they were initially preserved through the Society's efforts.

The Society continued to lobby the province for some type of provincial interpretation to accompany other Pass historic resource development. The group's efforts certainly helped as Alberta Culture completed first a Pass interpretive plan and then the development of the Leitch and Frank Slide Interpretive Centres as focal points for Pass historic resource interpretation.

The development of the two interpretive centres was a cooperative policy development process. The provincial government was aware of and planning to develop the provincially significant Pass historic resources from the early 1970's. The strong local interest in historic resource development, along with the significant lobbying of MLA Fred Bradley, aided and accelerated the 1970's provincial preservation of the significant resources and the 1980's development of two sites.

The involvement of the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation brought another avenue of provincial assistance to the local preservation scene. The Foundation, having been set up to facilitate preservation activities which could not be done by a government Department, had a mandate to assist local historic resource development. However, its role was constrained by lack of funding and therefore it had limited influence on Pass historic resource preservation.

The Society's attempts to purchase significant Pass historic resources was checked by its lack of access to provincial funding and the lack of municipal financial support. It also had limited powers regarding the preservation of locally significant historic sites. Combined with the sometimes inability of the local councils to financially assist in historic resource development, the Society was unable to pursue much of what was thought necessary for historic resource development.

In the case of municipal government support, though resources were never mobilized, the Society had influenced local government to provide significant support. Unfortunately, local political and economic circumstances prevented the finalization of these plans. In these instances, the Society exerted policy influence which extended into the 1980's as municipal council became enthusiastically involved in the development of the museum.

Archaeological site activity was another program area in which the Society was involved. The investigation of Pass archaeological sites was an ongoing process which the Society appeared not to be

involved in until the mid 1970's. The Pass archaeological resources were regarded as very significant by the province and there had been provincial support of these investigations.

With the controversy surrounding the realignment of highway # 3, the Society became more involved in protecting these resources. The Society began to work closely with Reeves in further investigations and received and gave mutual support for Pass projects. The Society also utilized its influence to assist Reeves in both the protection of archaeological sites and further investigation of other sites.

The Society started an historic book project early on in the 1970's and the province's historic book program was fully utilized by the Society on the advice of provincial officials. However, this project was mostly a Society policy effort. The provincial grant program was very limited - a small amount compared to the total cost of the book. The book was completed mainly through the efforts of Society members in obtaining further federal grants and local fundraising. The Society effectively mobilized resources from the federal, provincial and municipal governments as well as the local population to finish the project. The completion of the project had a significant effect on the Department's perception of strong local support for historic resource development.

Cemetery protection and preservation activity was an important part of Society preservation activities. The group attempted to take full advantage of provincial programs in the restoration of significant Pass cemeteries.

In the early 1970's because of a provincial cemetery survey the Hillcrest cemetery restoration project was first proposed. However, this project died and it was left to the Society to try to restore local cemetery sites through appeals to Pass council. Through cooperation with provincial officials, and later through municipal intervention, several significant sites were investigated and some eventually restored.

Analysis According to Easton's System's Theory

Easton's Model of a Political System was utilized to provide the basis for further data analysis. Easton's categorization of information based on this model was used to fully understand the information processing of the Department of CYR/Alberta Culture in provincial historic resource development and the Municipality of Crowsnest Pass/Society in local historic resource development.

The Provincial Political System

The provincial political system data were classified according to Easton's four categories: Inputs from the Environment; Withinputs in the System; Outputs of the System; and Feedback for the System. Each category was reviewed and discussed in detail.

The system inputs from the environment can be separated into demands and supports. Demands represent calls for change to satisfy public needs while supports are identified as actions sustaining the existing structure.

A number of demands from the environment entered the provincial political system to shape provincial historic resource policy. There were subtle demands from international and federal sources as well as more specific and vocal demands from the public and associated public groups. Municipalities also voiced demands for local historic resource development.

Internationally there was pressure to conform to the world norm for historic resource policy development.[1] Canada had signed UNESCO agreements at UNESCO international conferences and Alberta's officials therefore felt obliged to comply. Further, the example of other countries led Alberta to set policy while the federal government also exerted subtle pressure to follow international policy.

---

[1]For more information on international and federal influences on provincial historic resource policy development see Appendix F: International and Federal Influences on Provincial Historic Resource Policy Development.

This pressure to conform was also present as a provincial desire to align with the historic resource policies of other provinces in Canada.

There were also more specific public demands. In the 1960's the environmental, cultural and public consultation movements were important influences on historic resource development. The cultural development movement, part of public awakening to the importance of historic resource development, merged with the public consultation movement to further pressure the government to develop historic resource policy. Significant historic resource groups and public individuals also continued to demand historic resource development throughout the 1960's.

With the development of historic resource legislation and programs in the 1970's the public became further aware of the importance of historic resource development. Local groups, in cooperation with municipal councils, began to solicit local historic resource development assistance. Public input occurred through the lobby of constituency MLAs, the Premier and Cabinet, the Minister of Alberta Culture, senior civil servants and front-line workers of Alberta Culture. Minister Horst Schmid in particular was very approachable by those wishing to discuss concerns.

Public sentiment was also expressed against the development of historic resources and appeared to be somewhat effective. Tracy(1990) stated,

> . . . we have never designated against the owner's consent. And certainly . . . that's a problem because all the owner has to do essentially is to say no and it doesn't matter how important a site is, it won't be designated. . . . The rationale is that it's a political decision, that we don't go against the will of the public.

On the other hand, if public support warranted it, some sites were designated against the owner's wishes. Bradley(1992) indicated that the Leitch Collieries and Frank Slide sites were both protected and designated against some resistance by site owners. However, local support was in favor of designation and the Department reached a

suitable agreement with the owners. Thus demands for historic resource development policy change were both positive and negative and had an equally significant effect on provincial historic resource policy and program development.

A number of supports from the environment also entered the provincial political system to help shape provincial historic resource policy. Support was apparent through federal programs and activities as the PMAA was built in part with federal money and the federal Museums Assistance Grant Program led to the development of the first regulations under the Alberta Heritage Act, 1973.

Support was also given by other individuals and institutions. At times the Minister and senior civil servants would solicit input from the Glenbow Foundation and individuals such as historians and authors J.H. MacGregor and Grant MacEwan.(Tracy, 1990; Schmid, 1990) The appointed Historic Sites Board, whose role was advisory to the Minister, also provided support and advice on the development and implementation of programs.

In addition, public input was counselled by the Department as a means of supporting a local cause. As Tracy(1990) stated,

> It's not like we can wander around the province and say that's the best whatever, we should develop it. It doesn't work that way. We frequently say, go talk to your MLA. Very frequently. . . . we will say, you have to bring your MLA on side. If you don't bring your MLA on side, the possibility of provincial funding for this are exceedingly slim. And generally speaking, your MLA is a supporter.

The Department thus furthered its development plans and local action at the same time.

The Department also lobbied various elected officials for historic resource development. Lunn(1990) stated,

> . . . if you had identified a site, or feature, as of historical importance, then you were pretty stupid if you didn't get local support for it built up as soon as possible. For instance, you

> certainly try and brief your local MLA and his buddies and certainly the local mayors and so forth as to the importance of this thing.

Local support was also actively solicited by the Department through another mechanism. In the early 1980's, with the development of major projects such as the Leitch Collieries and Frank Slide Interpretive Centres, and acting on the advice of Fred Bradley, a Pass citizens' advisory committee was set up.(Bradley, 1992) The committee's feedback was reported to the Minister and provided local support for provincial development. In the 1980's similar committees were set up whereever provincial historic resource development was proposed. Support was also evident through public use of the programs as increasing use gave an indication that provincial policy was satisfying a public need.

Withinputs in the political system are another important influence on policy formation. The process of policy development was two-way within the Department and the provincial political system. According to senior Department officials, general policy ideas would come down from the Minister to be developed and would be sent back up for approval.(Lunn, 1990; Harrison, 1990; Edey 1990; Tracy, 1990) Some would then go to caucus and cabinet for overall approval. In addition, specific policy concerns would be presented by Department officials/line workers and policy proposals would progress up and down the Departmental hierarchy to be discussed and approved at whatever level was necessary. These internal Departmental withinputs are classified into demands and supports.

Minister Schmid, perceiving public demand for historic resource development funding, could not provide such funding without the appropriate legislation and regulations. His perception of such, shaped by input from caucus and cabinet, led to his directive that provincial legislation should be investigated and developed by Department senior officials. Specific pieces of the legislation, such as the heritage impact assessment, were included through the advice of senior officials.(Schmid,1990)

Senior officials, perceiving public demands, would present policy proposals to the Minister. Harrison and the Historic Sites Board were particularly active in presenting concerns, in the 1960's, as to the need for protective legislation, and then in the 1970's, on what should and should not be present in the 1973 Act and regulations.

Senior Department officials and the Minister would then lobby cabinet and caucus to bring about the changes they felt necessary to fulfill the Department's mandate. Schmid was particularly active in the presentation and development of the 1973 Alberta Heritage Act and subsequent amendments/regulations. Aggressive Ministerial lobbying for funding for historic resource development was a fact as there was Departmental competition for program development funds. Harrison(1990) indicated that the Department had to be aggressive because to go quietly would have meant getting nothing or less than what was minimally required.

Support was expressed by positive public response to provincial policies. Public response was solicited through local and provincial historic resource organizations including the Historic Sites Board. In addition Caucus and Cabinet constantly followed public sentiment with regards to any policy stance. The PC party, perceiving the development of historic resource policies as one aspect of satisfaction of public demands, supported the development of historic resource legislation and grant programs.

There were many outputs of the provincial political system. The 1973 Alberta Heritage Act and its many amendments, accompanied by regulations implementing the Act, were important outputs. Cabinet decisions for designations and specific grants as well as Departmental actions to develop Alberta's historic resources are included as well. In addition, Departmental and other government agency decisions to provide information and expertise to local organizations are outputs of provincial policy.

The formation of the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation and other agencies whose mandate included historic resource development funding were other outputs of the provincial political

system. Finally, the decision to allow the development of historic resources under a number of other grant programs such as Project Cooperation qualifies as a system output.

Feedback, or the reaction of the public, municipalities and various organizations to provincial outputs, was analyzed by senior Department officials and the Minister. Schmid(1990) stated,

> . . . first of all, as a law is being administered through its regulations, you find that either the regulations do not work or else are too weak or else cannot be enforced because of whatever may have happened or whatever may not be reasonable. Then the historic sites board and . . . personal representations by people who came to see me and . . . the staff of Alberta Culture . . . would be part of these suggested changes.

Within the Department, the continuous flow of proposals and amendments to proposals up and down the hierarchy was an internal feedback system as well.

The legislative amendments and new regulations developed along with the various designation and historic resource development decisions were reaction to feedback and can be considered as new outputs. This process was repeated many times in the feedback loop.

The Crowsnest Pass Political System

Municipal political system data were also classified according to Easton's four categories: Inputs from the Environment; Withinputs in the System; Outputs of the System; and, Feedback for the System. As well the system inputs can be classified into two separate categories called demands and support.

A number of demands from the environment entered the Pass political system to shape the sparse municipal historic resource policy base. One source of demand placed on Pass councils for historic resource development action was the historic groups formed in 1973 - the Society, the Tourism Committee, and the Highway 3 Association.

Councils were approached by these groups for the preservation and development of Pass historic resources throughout the 1970's.

This demand for municipal action in support of historic resource development was countered by public objections to the development of the tourist industry. As a result municipal councils did little to support or encourage historic resource protection and development in the early-to-mid 1970's. In the latter 1970's and the 1980's the need for local economic stimulation slowly overcame public opposition and councils twice approved the historic village project(though for one reason or another the project never went ahead) and the amalgamated council later formed the Ecomuseum Board and another Tourism Committee.

There was also pressure for stimulation of the local economy through businessmen involved in the Crowsnest Pass Economic Development Project(1970's) and the Coleman Historic Area Preservation Society(1980's) as well as the Chamber of Commerce. The groups saw tourism development as one means of economic stimulation and worked closely with MLA Fred Bradley to lobby the province and local councils.

Demand was also expressed indirectly through the desire for urban renewal as new residents sought better municipal services. Councils, recognizing this and also recognizing the lack of local revenue sources, felt pressure to stimulate the local economy.

Support for the limited municipal action for historic resource development came from the historic/tourism groups who lobbied for municipal action. When the councils did support historic resource development in the latter 1970's the Society was their biggest ally.

Local councils also received a tremendous amount of support from their MLA whom they lobbied for local economic development. Bradley worked throughout the 1970's and 1980's lobbying government colleagues for coal, tourism and historic resource development for local economic stimulation. He was instrumental in promoting the development of a Pass master plan for the development of the Pass's historic resources and lobbied heavily for development

funding. With the council's decision to fully support tourism development in the mid 1980's, Bradley was instrumental in pushing the Ecomuseum concept and gaining additional funding in 1989.

The provision of advice and program grants in the 1970's and the significant provincial historic resource development in the 1980's brought about further local awareness of the importance of local historic resources. This can be classified as additional support to municipal historic resource policy development in the 1980's.

Withinputs were also evident within the Crowsnest Pass political system. At times specific Pass councils would advocate for the development of the tourism industry and thus the development of historic resources. This was demonstrated by the sanctioning of the historic village project on two different occasions. Further, in the 1970's the Economic Development Project, made up partly of council representatives, advocated specifically for tourism development through the initiation of the historic village project.

In the 1980's, the Economic Development Board, another provincially sponsored project to stimulate the local economy, put its support behind tourism/historic resource development. This board was also partially made up of council representatives.

There were definite outputs of the Pass political system. In the 1970's councils twice approved the historic village project and then approved some funding for the historic book project. However, the two decisions to go ahead with the historic village project never did lead to its initiation due to political and economic circumstances.

In the early 1980's council decided to reject the proposed Historic Area Development for downtown Coleman. Later in the 1980's it reversed this decision and actively solicited and supported the activities of first the Society in the development of the museum and second the Ecomuseum in the development of other local historic resources.

Support for historic resource development in the 1980's included manpower, materials, tax relief and whatever other resources the council could allocate to historic resource development in an effort to develop the local tourist industry. The Pass municipal plan, developed

in the mid 1980's, included provision for tourism development and was approved through a by-law.

Municipal councils were reacting to feedback when they perceived negative public reaction to tourism development. They responded by rejecting requests for specific types of tourism development in the mid 1970's. Later in the 1970's, responding to the advice of representatives on the Economic Development Project, and the requests of the Society, they twice approved the development of an historic village. In the 1980's council responded to the advice of their Economic Development Committee, local business groups and the historic groups to initiate tourism development.

Summary

In the late 1960's and early 1970's PMAA officials had already identified many Pass historic resources as having provincial historic significance. However, provincial action to preserve and develop these resources was limited by the need to develop first the legislation to enable protection and second the programs under which development could take place. In the third instance, provincial action was delayed by the Department's administrative development. It was necessary to amass the personnel and resources with which to implement the 1973 Act. The 1973 Alberta Heritage Act did promote local historic resource development and the Society's activities mirrored some of these provincial initiatives.

The 1973 Act concentrated on the development of provincially significant resources though the municipalities were recognized as important partners in the development of Alberta's historic resources. The provincial government had assumed that the municipalities had the power to designate and protect local historic resources. There were grants for local historic resources though they were matching and aimed particularly at the owners of historic sites and not the municipalities. The major stumbling block to local historic resource development was the indifference that many municipalities had

towards their importance and thus municipal assistance in their protection and development. It was within this environment that the Society undertook local historic resource development.

The Society influenced the Department to purchase and preserve the Frank Slide and Leitch Collieries sites, which were in immediate danger of destruction, and conduct another assessment of highway realignment. In the latter 1970's the Department began to prepare for the development of Pass resources through an interpretive strategy in 1977/78, a bibliographical research study and an historic site inventory through the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation in 1978/79, and the ecomuseum interpretive strategy for the Pass in 1979/80.

In the early 1980's Department officials then approached the Pass council to offer significant Historic Area development funding for old downtown Coleman but were rejected. The Department subsequently developed the Leitch Collieries and Frank Slide Interpretive Centres. Thereafter Department influence continued in a support role for the Crowsnest Pass Ecomuseum Trust.

The most important local political influence on local historic resource development was the competitive animosity between the Pass communities. This animosity diverted attention from appreciating the significance of local historic resources and providing the resources to finance local historic resource development.

Probably the most important single political event to influence historic resource development was the 1979 amalgamation of the Pass communities. It removed much of the political animosity which had made any Pass wide project almost impossible to achieve. Another important local influence was the Pass economy. The Pass was an economically depressed area which both helped and hindered local historic resource development.

The local depression helped local historic resource development because of the lack of development pressure generated by private and commercial property owners. However, the depression also reduced

the number and form of grants or other resources. Councils had trouble allocating already scarce resources towards these ends.

The Society's actions were supported by the Pass councils in several ways. The councils participated with the Society in successful opposition to the Calgary Power line development, were peripherally involved in tourism development through the Tourism Committee and the Highway 3 Association which had links with the Society, and threw their support behind the Highway 3 Association. Finally, the Crowsnest Pass Development Project, made up of council representatives and citizens, provided further tacit approval of Society actions through its historic village and museum development proposals.

The Society acted as a watchdog in the protection of the provincially significant Pass sites by alerting the Department to the imminent destruction of the Leitch, Frank Slide, Frank townsite, and Greenhill Mine sites. It also initiated the historic book program, the cemetery restoration program, the marking and signage program, the museum grant program, and so forth which were all launched as small parts of an increasingly more complex local historic resource development picture.

CHAPTER SIX

Summary, Conclusions and Implications

This Chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section details the major points from the review of study data followed by the study conclusions. The second section outlines the study implications and applications for practice and future research.

Summary

In the period up to and including 1962, provincial historic resource policy was made up of a number of small programs set up mainly to assist the tourist industry. The growth of historic resource development was encouraged by the SC government's emphasis on social and cultural development, the presence of increasing disposable government revenue from the oil and gas industry, and the need to provide leisure pursuits for Alberta's rapidly increasing population.

Alberta's fiftieth anniversary in 1955 created an increased awareness of and interest in Alberta's history and the SC government responded with minor historic resource policy development. The most important policy decision made was the 1958 intent to develop a provincial museum and work began on this project in 1959. The decision to build a provincial museum in Edmonton led to government assistance of the Glenbow museum in Calgary. The Glenbow Institute in southern Alberta and the PMAA in northern Alberta were to further encourage historic resource development after 1962.

The Crowsnest Pass was heavily dependent on the fluctuating coal industry as the major employer. After the decline of the industry in the late 1940's and early 1950's, the Pass economy became seriously

depressed and remained stagnant because coal never again regained its prominence as an energy resource.

Prior to 1962, historic resource development in the Pass was non-existent but the stagnant economy aided future local historic resource development by ensuring the existence of Pass resources because of a lack of residential and commercial development. Owners, through the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's, waited in vain for the coal industry to develop once more.

In the period 1963 to 1979, provincial historic resource development continued to be affected by the previous SC emphasis on social and cultural development, by "windfall" revenues, and by the demands of the increasing population. The Glenbow and Provincial museums were fully operational, leading to increasing museum development throughout Alberta's smaller communities. Within the Department of the Provincial Secretary the PMAA became the administrative structure for provincial historic resource development.

Museum and archival policy developed at a rapid pace from 1963 to 1973 but historic sites, archaeological and paleontological policy development was only minor. The PC government came to power in 1971 and the ambitious Minister of CYR, Horst Schmid, convinced the new government that historic resource policy was one means of satisfying public demand for cultural development. The Alberta Heritage Act, 1973 was passed and led to the further development of Alberta's historic resources. Historic sites preservation and development in particular were to grow because of its protective powers and grants regulations. The Act also made provision for administrative structural development necessary to implement the Act.

From 1973 to 1979, emphasis came to be on the preservation and protection of historic sites and the further consolidation of museums services in Alberta. After the development of the 1980 Alberta Culture master plan for historic resource development, the 1980's were characterized by the interpretation of Alberta's historic sites.

Provincial historic resource policy after 1973 had a positive influence on local historic resource development. However, administrative development of the Department delayed the

implementation of many programs which were to assist local historic resource development. Municipalities were largely indifferent to the importance or local historic resources and thus little was done locally. In addition, the provincial government assumed that municipalities had the power to protect local historic sites through their municipal by-law process.

In the late 1970's this assumption was proven wrong and Alberta Culture brought in legislation to delegate protective powers for municipalities. As well, Alberta Culture began implementing ways to involve local groups as full partners in historic resource development. This trend continued into the 1980's.

From the early 1970's provincial officials had noted that there were many provincially significant historic resources in the Crowsnest Pass which could be used to interpret Alberta's development. With the assistance of the Society these resources were protected in the 1970's and many interpreted in the 1980's.

After its formation the Society began to play a very important role as a watchdog for local historic sites. The Department of CYR was pre-occupied with administrative development until 1976 and without the Society's spirited intervention, the historic sites would not have been around for development in the 1980's.

The strong lobbying power of the Society also played an important role in supporting Alberta Culture's requests for funding for the two interpretation centres in the Pass and the further acquisition of local development funds. Alberta Culture encouraged and further supported the Crowsnest Pass Ecomuseum Trust and its efforts at local historic resource development.

The Society also nurtured local historic resource development through historic resource preservation actions such as the history book project and the development of the Crowsnest Museum. However, the development of locally significant historic resources was hindered by political animosity between the Pass municipalities. This competition for industry, amenities and residents hindered the development of the museum and other local historic sites and structures.

The most important event for the development of local historic resources in the Pass was the amalgamation of the Pass municipalities. After amalgamation the Society was able to deal with one local authority instead of many and this led to swift and enthusiastic municipal support of the Society's efforts in the mid 1980's.

The economic situation in the Pass continued to play an important role in historic resource development. The prevailing stagnant economy meant the preservation of many historic structures and continued pressure by the Society and other groups for tourism industry development. In the 1980's the economic situation worsened as Alberta entered a depression. The Pass municipal council was thus influenced to seek out the development of the tourist industry and local historic resources as a means of stimulating the local economy.

Provincial historic resource policy encouraged first the Society's activities in the 1970's and early 1980's and second, municipal council's historic resource policy in the mid-to-late 1980's. The presence of the Alberta Heritage Act and funding programs assisted Pass historic resource development.

The Society's activities influenced provincial historic resource policy as it awakened the Department to the dangers facing Pass historic sites and prompted it to initiate action perhaps before it were ready. In addition the Society's strong lobbying action provided support for Alberta Culture's acquisition of funds for the development of the Frank Slide and Leitch Collieries sites in the Pass.

The Society's lobbying action also incited the many municipal councils in the 1970's to consider local historic resource development activity. However, it was in the 1980's that the Society finally convinced the amalgamated municipal council to act in the development of the Crowsnest Museum and other local historic resource development, a significant 'bottom-up' policy influence. The council's support of local historic resource development from 1983 onwards had a significant 'top-down' influence on local historic resource development after that as it played a nurturing role for the museum and the ecomuseum trust.

In the early years of the Society, from 1973 to 1975, with the exception of the tourism groups and the Society, the citizens were both indifferent and opposed to the development of tourism in the Pass because they felt that it would intrude on and interfere with their way of life. With the increased activity of the Society, in particular the development and printing of the history book, the citizens became more aware of their heritage. In spite of this increased awareness, support for historic resource development, especially to support the tourist industry and a change in lifestyle, was not there. The people felt that the coal industry would be revived and they would not have to put up with the hassles which would inevitably come with the development of the tourist industry.

In the early 1980's the citizens still had no idea of the meaning and significance of the Pass historic resources. It was only after 1983, with the development of the Leitch Collieries and Frank Slide Interpretive centres that they became aware of their resources. In addition, with the crash of the local economy, the idea of developing the tourist industry became more and more appealing. After 1985, when council moved to develop the tourist industry and form the Ecomuseum Trust, the people came to accept and participate in the celebration and development of their heritage.

Conclusions

The study's purpose was to determine the influence that provincial historic resource policy had on historic resource policies and activities in the Crowsnest Pass and, the reverse, what influence Pass policies and activities had on provincial historic resource policy. To supplement this, influences on local and provincial historic resource policy were examined through economic, political and demographic dimensions at the local and provincial levels.

The study findings indicate that provincial historic resource policy had a definite influence on Crowsnest Pass historic resource policies and activities. Moreover, Crowsnest Pass activities and policies had an effect on provincial policy as well.

At the provincial level, the increased awareness of Alberta's historic resources because of the 1960's provincial policy base led to a circular effect as local groups began to demand more protective powers and grants for local historic resource protection and interpretation. The Alberta Heritage Act 1973 was passed as a result because the PC government and Minister Horst Schmid saw this policy area as an opportunity to show the public substantial government response to increasing public discontent.

The development of the 1973 Alberta Heritage Act was the seminal occurrence in the further development of Alberta's historic resources. It provided both the tools and the resources to make a major impact on provincial and local historic resource development.

Again after 1973 the heightened perception of provincial policy, through the strong protective and designation powers of the Act, led to increased public interest in and action in local historic resource preservation and interpretation. The provincial government followed this initiative with significant amendments to the Act and the development of grant regulations to finance provincial and local historic resource development.

In the Pass, there was great excitement for historic resource preservation with the formation of the Society in 1973. Provincial historic resource policy had an enabling effect on local historic resource development in the 1970's and 1980's. The various programs established under the Act gave the Society the means and encouragement to begin local historic resource development.

The tenacious lobbying campaign of the Society had a significant affect on provincial historic resource policy because it convinced the Department of CYR to allocate major resources to purchase Pass historic sites. The resources were also allocated at a time when the Department was embroiled in the development of its administrative structure. Further, the Society's lobby provided the local political support to gain further funding for the two interpretive centres in the Pass. These two Pass projects were particularly important to Alberta Culture because it was they were among the Department's first attempts at the development of major interpretive facilities. The

success of the projects led to increasing access to further funding for the development of other historic resource projects in the province.

The increasing provincial presence in the Pass served to reinforce the Society's activities as residents began to establish a favorable impression of Pass history and resources. In addition, the local interest generated after the construction of the two centres encouraged other government input into the Pass. Other Departments such as Environment, Highways, and Recreation and Parks began complementary initiatives in the area. In 1990 significant Alberta Historic Area grant money was allocated for Pass historic resource development and the further development of Pass historic resources continued through a close partnership between the local historic groups, municipal council and the Department.

The Society's activities also played a very important role in municipal historic resource policy development which took place later in the 1980's. It had protected a significant number of historic resources at a time when local councils were not interested. In addition, its efforts had served to raise local awareness of the Pass resources among the residents and municipal council. Without the preservation efforts of the Society, many significant historic resources would have been destroyed with little left for municipal council to develop.

The study findings also indicate that there were both environmental and internal influences on provincial and Crowsnest Pass historic resource policy and activity development. At the provincial level, the rapidly increasing population and the affluent provincial economy created both the demand and the means for historic resource development. Historic resource development also grew from the existing social and cultural policy stance of the SC government from 1935.

The PC government increased the development of historic resource policy after 1971 through its own emphasis on social and cultural policy development. In addition it increased the revenues gained from the oil and gas industry making it even more probable that more revenue would be put into historic resource development.

In the Crowsnest Pass, there were specific environmental and internal influences on local historic resource policies and activities as well. In the 1960's, 1970's and early 1980's the Pass economy had a definite inhibiting effect on the provision of municipal resources in aid of Society activities. Discretionary revenue was scarce and the cost of municipal services high because of the stagnant local economy. However, increasingly throughout the 1970's the local authorities began to support the Society's efforts in principle at least.

Fortunately the stagnant local economy also meant the lack of development pressures and the continued existence of many local historic sites and structures. In addition, the poor economy made local authorities look at alternate sources of economic stimulation and the tourist industry was identified as having great potential. In the mid-to-late 1980's local economic regeneration came to mean the development of the tourist industry.

The highly competitive local political situation also blocked the Society's historic resource development activities. The most important local political event for historic resource development was the amalgamation of the Pass municipalities in 1979 which eliminated a great source of administrative delay and animosity. The results were significant as the amalgamated council worked closely with first the Society and then the Crowsnest Pass Ecomuseum Trust.

The analysis of provincial and local historic resource development revealed that the influences each had on the other policy base fit nicely into Easton's model. The model effectively provided an explanatory structure which classified interactions and policy outputs and decisions into specific categories, enhancing understanding of the policy development process. The model is a simplistic model which does not have the rigor of more recent models such as Pal(1987) and Simeon(1976). For example, the different categories of outputs could have been broken down into further categories with a more explanatory model but for the purposes of this study it was effective enough.

The policy development process of analysis with which the different influences on provincial and local policies were placed into

'top-down' and 'bottom-up' categories was adequate but again too simplistic. A more explanatory model which further categorized influences within the provincial political system or department could have easily been applied.

The methodology of the study is sound with the result that the basic steps of collection, analysis and categorization of data were clearly carried out within the structure imposed.

Implications

The study demonstrates the direction that local historic resource development is taking in Alberta. With the delegation of designation powers to local authorities in 1978 and the increasing awareness of the importance of historic resources at the municipal level, more communities in the 1990's will act to protect important local historic resources. In addition, the new creative financing powers allocated to the municipal level under the Act will be used by more local authorities in the 1990's.

The environmental movement will also have local influence with more pressure on businessmen to recycle old buildings. With the movement towards more public participation in government, simple demands such as these, if articulated, will be heard and acted upon at the political level.

The 1980's provincial economic downturn will also have its effect. Local authorities will attempt to develop local tourism through the interpretation of historic resources. With the baby boom generation growing older there will be an increase in demand for historic resource development to satisfy leisure pursuits and quality-of-life community concerns in the next thirty years. With the downturn in the economy, people will be forced into more stay-at-home leisure pursuits and local historic resource development will benefit from this trend.

Realizing that tourism development will not be as lucrative as first thought and realizing that the development of local historic resources will be mainly locally funded, community pride and

activism will be the basis for most local historic resource development. Ecomuseums and other similar forms of local historic resource development will become the norm in municipalities. The Department of Culture and Multiculturalism will attempt to facilitate such activism.

The role of the Department will become more the facilitation of local historic sites development while maintaining a provincial presence in the policy area. The Department will advocate more tax advantages for the business community and the public to become involved in historic resource development. Further, provincial officials will advocate more business involvement in historic resource development as a marketing tool with the aging baby boom generation.

The federal government will experience more and more pressure to change existing tax laws and eliminate tax loopholes that make it easier to destroy historic structures rather than preserve and renovate them. Pressure for this change will come from both environmental groups and local authorities advocating the development of local historic resources through the recycling of buildings.

Future research leading from this study can be initiated in a number of areas. This study touched only briefly on Pass social characteristics. It would be beneficial to study the development of the very isolationist Pass multi-cultural society to outline other influences on Pass historic resource development. Further, it would be beneficial to study the partial breakdown of these reclusive sentiments leading to amalgamation in 1979. In 1979 very strong feelings of community and ethnic group loyalty were overcome by the economic and political necessity to amalgamate. In the 1980's these feelings of community loyalty often stirred in resentment to changes and further absorption of each community into the whole.

Other research could involve the study of the symbolism attached to Pass historic resources. Pass residents have a history filled with hardship and tragedy. Perhaps one of the reasons why historic resource development and preservation was so difficult to stir in residents' minds was that the memories attached were so painful. Why

preserve something which was a reminder of so much pain and hardship?

Also of interest would be an examination of the resentment that residents had shown in the 1980's to government interference in local matters. Maybe this was a reaction to past government opposition to local union action in the coal mines. It could be that this sentiment carried over into resentment at the lack of government action in support of the struggling coal industry. Further, possibly this resentment had carried over into the lack of government action in support of the local historic village and museum project over which the Society laboured so long and fruitlessly - only to watch the Department spend millions of dollars on the two interpretive centres in the Pass. Pass history reveals a long thread of resistance to authority stretching back to union activity demanding government regulation of the dangerous coal mining industry.

Future studies can be initiated around the more recent development of Pass historic resources from 1980 onward. The first mention of an ecomuseum was in the 1980 Cartlidge study financed by Alberta Culture. A continued study of circumstances, events and issues at the provincial and local levels would give further insight into the forces acting on the community in support of, and against, the eventual development of the Ecomuseum Trust. Tentative exploration in this area reveals an evolution of the reasons for development of the Trust and a continuation of the feeling of resentment of government interference in local affairs.

There is also room for further research into the administrative structure of the Trust and the community and municipal support which has fueled its dramatic rise and equally dramatic progress and to compare this situation to other ecomuseums which were more community initiated.

REFERENCES CITED

Alberta. Alberta Culture. Annual Reports. Edmonton, Alberta: Queen's Printer, 1975 to 1985.

Alberta. Alberta Culture. Alberta Culture: Historical Resources Policy and Planning for Alberta. Edmonton, Alberta, No date, 1978. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 88.239, Box #5, File Box #2.

Alberta. Alberta Culture. Master Plan for the Protection and Development of Prehistoric and Historic Resources Within Alberta. Task Force, Historic Sites Service, Archaeological Survey of Alberta. Edmonton, Alberta: Queen's Printer, 1980.

Alberta. Alberta Treasury. Public Accounts. Edmonton, Alberta: Queen's Printer, 1963 to 1987

Alberta. Department of Culture and Multiculturalism. Designated Historical Resources in Alberta. Edmonton, Alberta: Queen's Printer, January 1, 1990.

Alberta. Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation. The Decentralized Master Plan for Alberta's Heritage Resources. Edmonton, Alberta, No date. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 82.39, Box #5, File Box #2 - R.O. Harrison Papers.

Alberta. Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation. Annual Reports. Edmonton, Alberta: Queen's Printer, 1972 to 1975.

Alberta. Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation. Heritage Resource Development Plan: 1973 - 2005 for the Province of Alberta, Draft #5. Edmonton, Alberta, No date, 1972. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 88.239, Box#5, File #1.
Alberta. Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation. Interim Guidelines for Historic Sites Programme. Edmonton, Alberta, July 18, 1972.

Alberta. Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation. Request for Cabinet Decision signed by Minister Schmid and submitted on the "Decentralization Master Plan for Alberta's Heritage Resources". Edmonton, Alberta, August 28, 1974. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 88.239, Box #15, File - Development Studies - Decentralization Master Plan.

Alberta. Department of the Environment. Environment Conservation Authority. The Conservation of Historical and Archaeological Resources in Alberta: Summary of the Public Hearings. Edmonton, Alberta: Queen's Printer, May-June, 1972.

Alberta. Department of the Provincial Secretary. Annual Reports. Edmonton, Alberta: Queen's Printer, 1956 to 1971.

Alberta. Department of the Provincial Secretary. Bill 60, The Historical and Archaeological Sites Protection Act. The bill was withdrawn by the Provincial Secretary after first reading in 1961. Edmonton, Alberta: Queen's Printer, 1961.

Alberta. Department of the Provincial Secretary. Province of Alberta: Interim Guidelines for Historic Sites Programme. Edmonton, Alberta, July 18, 1972. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 88.239, Box #5, File #1.

Alberta Gazette, The. Alberta Regulations. Edmonton, Alberta: Queen's Printer.

" -Alberta Regulations, 1973. Regulation 177/73.
" -Alberta Regulations, 1974. Regulation 254/74.
" -Alberta Regulations, 1974. Regulation 283/74.
" -Alberta Regulations, 1975. Regulation 85/75.
" -Alberta Regulations, 1976. Regulation 303/76.
" -Alberta Regulations, 1976. Regulation 330/76.
" -Alberta Regulations, 1978. Regulation 111/78.
" -Alberta Regulations, 1978. Regulation 244/78.

Alberta. Hansard. Edmonton, Alberta: Queen's Printer.

" -Throne Speech March 2, 1972, 1-3
" -November 14, 1972, 74-15

Alberta. Statutes of Alberta. Edmonton, Alberta: Queen's Printer.

" -Act to Incorporate the Historical Society of Alberta, 1907. Chapter 23.

" -An Act respecting the Preservation of Public Documents in 1925. Chapter 31. Also cited as The Preservation of Public Documents Act.

" -An Act respecting Provincial Parks, 1930. Chapter 60. Also cited as The Provincial Parks and Protected Areas Act, 1930.

" -An Act for the Establishment of a Department of Economic Affairs and to prescribe its powers and duties, 1945. Chapter 2. Also cited as The Department of Economic Affairs Act, 1945.

" -An Act to Promote the Cultural Development of Alberta,1946. Chapter 9. Also cited as The Cultural Development Act, 1946.

" -An Act respecting Provincial Parks, 1951. Chapter 64. Also cited as The Provincial Parks Act, 1951.

" -An Act to amend The Department of Economic Affairs Act, 1955. Chapter 59.

" -An Act to amend The Cultural Development Act, 1960. Chapter 22. Also cited as The Cultural Development Act, 1960.

" -An Act to amend The Provincial Parks Act, 1961. Chapter 58. Also cited as The Provincial Parks Act, 1961.

" -An Act to amend The Provincial Parks Act, 1961. Chapter 58. Also cited as The Provincial Parks Act, 1961.

" -An Act respecting Provincial Parks, Historical Sites, Natural Areas and Wilderness Areas, 1964. Chapter 71. Also cited as The Provincial Parks Act, 1964.

" -An Act to amend the Cultural Development Act, 1966. Chapter 26.

" -An Act respecting Provincial Archives, 1966. Chapter 73. Also cited as The Provincial Archives Act.

" -An Act respecting Environment Conservation, 1970. Chapter 36. Also cited as The Environment Conservation Act, 1970.

" -An Act respecting the Provincial Museum and Archives, Historical Sites and other matters, 1970. Chapter 7. Also cited as The Alberta Heritage Act, 1970.

" -The Alberta Heritage Act, 1973. Chapter 5.

" -The Alberta Heritage Amendment Act, 1974. Chapter 63.

" -The Alberta Heritage Amendment Act, 1975. Chapter 41.

" -The Alberta Historical Resources Amendment Act, 1977. Chapter 3.

" -The Alberta Historical Resources Amendment Act, 1978. Chapter 4.

" -Historical Resources Act, 1983. Chapter H-8.

Atkinson, M. M. and Chandler, M. A. "Strategies for Policy Analysis." in M. M. Atkinson and M. A. Chandler (eds) The Politics of Canadian Public Policy. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1983.

Bairstow and Associates Consulting Ltd. The Case for Revenue Sharing in Alberta: A Discussion Paper for Alberta Municipalities. prepared for Ray Speaker, leader of the official opposition, Legislative Assembly of Alberta. December, 1981.

Barr, J. J. The Dynasty: The Rise and Fall of Social Credit in Alberta. McClelland and Stewart, Ltd.. 1974.

Barzun, Jacques and Graf, H. F. The Modern Researcher. 4th edition. London, San Diego and New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich. 1985.

Bettison, D. G. , Kenward, J.K. and Taylor, L. Urban Affairs in Alberta. volume 2 of a 2 volume work on urbanization in Canada. Volume 1 - The Politics of Canadian Urban Development. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press. 1975.

Borg, W. R. and Gall, M. D. Educational Research: An Introduction. New York and London: Longman. 1983.

Bradley, Fred. Personal papers.

Bradley, Fred. President of The Crowsnest Pass Historical Society 1973 to 1975. Honorary President from 1975 to 1978. Progressive Conservative MLA for Pincher Creek/Crowsnest riding from 1975 continuing to 1992. Personal taped interview. June 27, 1990.

Bradley, Fred. Personal correspondence. January 9, 1991.

Bradley, Fred. Personal correspondence. May 25, 1992.

Bryant, E.S., Chairman of the Historical Advisory Committee, Department of the Provincial Secretary. Preservation of Provincial Government Documents. no date, 1960.

Byrne, W.O. Director of the Archaeological Survey of the Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation/Alberta Culture from 1975 to 1980. Assistant Deputy Minister of the Department of Culture/Culture and Multiculturalism from 1980 continuing to 1992. Personal communication. 1990.

Byrne, W.O. Personal correspondence. June 1992.

Canada. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. National Historic Sites and Monuments Board. List Of National Historic Sites and Monuments Board Cairns in the Province of

Alberta. Ottawa, Ontario, September 9, 1959. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 71.172, Box 2, File Historic Sites - Provincial Secretary Files.

Canada. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. Letter to Russell Patrick, Provincial Secretary. Ottawa, Ontario, April 29, 1960. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 71.172, Box 2, File Historic Sites - Provincial Secretary Files.

Canada. Department of Trade and Commerce. The Canada Yearbook. Ottawa, Ontario: Queen's Printer, 1985.

Caragata, W.. Alberta Labour: A Heritage Untold. Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., Publishers. 1979.

Cartlidge, Thora. Crowsnest Pass Historical Resources Development Proposal. Alberta Culture, Historic Sites Service, Edmonton, Alberta, 1980.

Council Meeting Minutes. Blairmore, Coleman, and Frank. 1963 to 1979.

Cousins, W. J. A History of the Crow's Nest Pass - Original Manuscript 1952. Published by The Historic Trails Society of Alberta. 1981.

Cranston, W.H. Letter from Mr. Cranston, Archaeological and Historic Sites Advisory Board, Department of Travel and Publicity, Toronto Ontario, to Russell Patrick, Provincial Secretary, Government of Alberta. May 3, 1960. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 71.172, Box #2, File - Historic Sites - Provincial Secretary Files.

Crowsnest Historical Society. Minutes of the Society meetings, 1973 to 1986. Located in the Crows Nest Pass Museum, Coleman, Municipality of Crowsnest Pass, Alberta.

" -Minutes, No date, 1973.
" -Minutes, March 4, 1973.
" -Minutes, March 25, 1973.
" -Minutes, April 8, 1973.
" -Minutes, June 3, 1973.
" -Minutes, September 9, 1973.
" -Minutes, September 20, 1973.
" -Minutes, November 20, 1973.
" -Minutes, December 9, 1973.
" -Minutes, January 14, 1974.
" -Minutes, January 28, 1974.
" -Minutes, February 24, 1974.
" -Minutes, March 19, 1974.
" -Minutes, April 28, 1974.
" -Minutes, May 28, 1974.
" -Minutes, June 26, 1974.
" -Minutes, September 22, 1974.
" -Minutes, April 13, 1975.
" -Minutes, May 28, 1975.
" -Minutes, June 9, 1975.
" -Minutes, October 30, 1975.
" -Minutes, no date, January, 1976.
" -Minutes, March 9, 1976.
" -Minutes, April 6, 1976.
" -Minutes, April 28, 1976.
" -Minutes, July 13, 1976.
" -Minutes, September 26, 1976.
" -Minutes, November 25, 1976.
" -Minutes, December 12, 1976.
" -Minutes, March 14, 1977.

" -Minutes, March 31, 1977.
" -Minutes, April 21, 1977.
" -Minutes, September 7, 1977.
" -Minutes, November 4, 1977.
" -Minutes, December 5, 1977.
" -Minutes, April 2, 1978.
" -Minutes, April 23, 1978.
" -Minutes, September 10, 1978.
" -Minutes, April 8, 1979.
" -Minutes, May 27, 1979.
" -Minutes, October 21, 1979.
" -Minutes, December 16, 1979.
" -Minutes, April 5, 1982.
" -Minutes, April 20, 1982.
" -Minutes, April 28, 1982.
" -Minutes, January 10, 1983.
" -Minutes, March 14, 1983.
" -Minutes, April 14, 1983.
" -Minutes, June 21, 1984.
" -Minutes, July 3, 1984.
" -Minutes, no date, December, 1984.
" -Minutes, November 4, 1985.
" -Minutes, August 24, 1986.

Crowsnest Museum. Newspaper Scrapbook. Local newspaper article, no title, no date. Coleman, Municipality of Crowsnest Pass, Alberta. 1973.

Crowsnest Pass Development Project. A Proposal for a Coal Miner's Museum and Historical Village in the Crowsnest Pass. Crowsnest Pass, Alberta. no date.

Crowsnest Pass Ecomuseum Trust. Proposed Development Plan for the Crowsnest Pass Historic and Coal Mining Corridor. Blairmore, Municipality of Crowsnest Pass, Alberta. November, 1988.

Crowsnest Pass Economic Development Advisory Committee. The Crowsnest Pass Economic Development Plan. Crowsnest Pass, Alberta. June 1976.

Crowsnest Pass Historical Society Committee. Crowsnest and Its People. Calgary: Friesen Printers. 1980.

D'Amore, L. J. "A Third Generation of Tourism Thinking: Towards a Creative Conspiracy." Business Quarterly. London, Canada: University of Western Ontario. Summer, 1985.

Denhez, Marc C. Heritage Fights Back. Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver: Heritage Canada and Fitzhenrey and Whiteside. 1978.

Easton, David. A Framework for Political Analysis. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.. 1965.

Edey, June. Former financial officer with Alberta Culture in the 1970's and mid 1980's. Personal interview. July 11, 1990.

Edmonton Journal, "Dr. A.A. Esslinger Head of Canadian Association of Health, Physical Education and Recreation." Edmonton, Alberta. June 26, 1959.

Graham, Laura. Long standing member of the executive of The Crowsnest Pass Historical Society. Personal interview. June 20, 1990.

Harrison, R.O. The Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta: A Working Paper for Their Long-Range Development. Department of the Provincial Secretary, Edmonton, Alberta. August, 1962. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 75.346, Box #2, File Schmid.

Harrison, R.O. Memo from Mr. Harrison, Director of the Provincial Museum and Archives, Edmonton, Alberta, to P.B. Howard, Deputy Provincial Secretary, Edmonton, Alberta. March 9, 1967. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 71.172, Box 2, File Historic Sites - General File - Section 2 - 1966 to 1967 - Department of the Provincial Secretary.

Harrison, R.O. Memo from Mr. Harrison, Director of the Provincial Museum and Archives, Edmonton, Alberta, to P.B. Howard, Deputy Provincial Secretary, Edmonton, Alberta. No date, 1969. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 88.397, File 21.

Harrison, R.O. Memo from Mr. Harrison to B.A. McCorquodale (Acting Assistant Deputy Minister), J.S. Nicks(Director of Heritage Sites), and A.D. Ridge. Edmonton, Alberta. July 5, 1974. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access# 88.239, Box #15, File - Development Studies - Decentralization Master Plan.

Harrison, R.O. Position Paper - A Historical Resources Policy for Alberta. Alberta. Alberta Culture. Edmonton, Alberta. May 11, 1976. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access# 88.239, Box #15, File Development Studies - Master Plan Historic Sites Service and Parks Policy Position Paper.

Harrison, R. O. Architect and planner of the Provincial Museum and Archives from 1963 to 1967. Director of the Provincial Museum and Archives from 1967 to 1971. Assistant Deputy Minister in the Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation from 1971 to 1974.

Consultant to Alberta Culture from 1974 to 1979. Personal interview. June 30, 1990.

Harrison, R.O. Personal correspondence. June 2, 1992.

Herbert, J.D. Letter from Mr. Herbert of the Federal Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources to Mr. H.G. Jenson, Deputy Minister of the Department of Lands and Forests, Alberta. Ottawa Ontario, April 19, 1960. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 71.172, Box 2, File Historic Sites - Provincial Secretary Files.

Heritage Canada Foundation. Regional Heritage Tourism Strategy. April, 1988.

Historical Advisory Committee. Minutes of Oct. 27, 1970. Edmonton, Alberta. Alberta. Department of the Provincial Secretary, Edmonton, Alberta.

Hughes, E.R. Memo from Mr. Hughes, Deputy Provincial Secretary, Edmonton, Alberta, to R.O. Harrison, Chairman of the Historic Sites Board, Edmonton, Alberta, November 22, 1963. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 71.172, Box # 2, File - Historic Sites - Provincial Secretary Files.

Hurt, Les. Employed with Alberta Culture/Department of Culture/Department of Culture and Multiculturalism from 1975. Assistant Director of Planning and Research for Historic Sites Service 1990 to 1992. Personal interview. July 11, 1990.

Improvement District #5. Municipal By-laws. Alberta. Department of Municipal Affairs, Edmonton, Alberta. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 81.347. Box #10, Municipal Affairs Files.

Irving, J. A. The Social Credit Movement in Alberta. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1959.

Jackson E. L. and Dhanani, A. D. "Resources and Resource-Use Conflict." in Barr, B. M. and Smith, P. J. (eds) Environment and Economy: Essays on the Human Geography of Alberta. Edmonton, Pica Pica Press. 1984

Jamieson, Walter. Coleman Historic Area: A Feasibility Study. prepared for Alberta Culture, Historic Sites Service, Edmonton, Alberta, 1986.

Jamieson, Walter. A Development Strategy for An Ecomuseum in the Crowsnest Pass. prepared for Alberta Culture, Historic Sites Service, Edmonton, Alberta, 1987.

Kaasa, Walter. Former Coordinator of Cultural Activities for the Alberta government from 1956 to 1972 with Department of Economic Affairs/Department of Provincial Secretary/Department of Youth. Assistant Deputy Minister of Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation/Alberta Culture/Department of Culture to the mid 1980's. Personal interview. September 5, 1990.

Kapalka, John. Assistant town administrator and Town Administrator of both Coleman and Blairmore from 1968 to 1979. Town Administrator of Crowsnest Pass from 1979 onwards. Personal interview. June 19, 1990.

Kenward, J. K. "Political Manipulation and Rewards in the Crowsnest Pass, Southern Alberta." Masters dissertation. Simon Fraser University. 1971.

Kerr, Jim. Brief by Jim Kerr Presented to the Crowsnest 3 Highway Committee on Behalf of The Crowsnest Pass Citizens Tourist Association. Crowsnest Pass, Alberta. no date.

Lake, D. W. "A Study of Landscape Evolution in the Crowsnest Pass Region, 1898 - 1971". PhD. thesis, University of Oklahoma Graduate College, Norman, Oklahoma. 1972.

Lethbridge Herald. "Officials Favour Plan: Pass Awaits Amalgmation Report." Lethbridge, Alberta. February 11, 1977.

Lightbody, J. "Edmonton." in W. Magnusson, W. and A. Sancton. (eds) City Politics in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1983.

Lunn, John. Alberta Culture. Position Paper: An Historical Resources Policy for Alberta. Edmonton, Alberta. January 30, 1978.

Lunn, John. Assistant Deputy Minister of Alberta Culture from 1975 to 1980. Personal interviews. July 16, 31, 1990.

Magnusson, W. and Sancton, W. (eds) City Politics in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1983.

Marsh, J. and Wall, G. "Introduction: Themes in the Investigation of the Evolution of Outdoor Recreation." in Wall, G. and Walsh, J. S. (eds) Recreational Land Use: Perspectives on its Evolution in Canada. Ottawa: Carlton University Press. 1982.

Mason, Alan G. "The Development of Alberta's Provincial Parks." Masters thesis, University of Alberta. 1988.

Masson, J.K. Alberta's Local Governments and Their Politics. Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, University of Alberta. 1985.

McFarland, E. M. The Development of Public Recreation in Canada. Canadian Parks and Recreation Association. 1970.

Milne, David. Planner with the Department of Tourism 1985 to 1989. Personal interview. July 3, 1990.

Municipal Council, Bellevue. Municipal By-laws. Bellevue, Alberta. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 81.347. Box #2, Municipal Affairs Files, items #20 and 21.

Municipal Council, Blairmore. Municipal By-laws. Blairmore, Alberta. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 81.347. Box #2, Municipal Affairs Files, item #28.

Municipal Council, Coleman. Municipal By-laws. Coleman, Alberta. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 81.347. Box #4, Municipal Affairs Files, items # 67, 68 and 69.

Municipal Council, Frank. Municipal By-laws. Frank, Alberta. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 81.347. Box #7, Municipal Affairs Files, items # 116 and 117.

Municipal Counsellor, The, Newsletter of the Department of Municipal Affairs. Edmonton, Alberta. 1961 to 1979.

Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. Municipal By-laws. Lethbridge, Alberta. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access #81.347. Box #15, Municipal Affairs Files, items #241, 242, and 243.

Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. Regional Study 1 - Population. Lethbridge, Alberta. Alberta. Department of Municipal Affairs, 1965.

Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. Application to Undertake a Sub-regional Study including Urban Renewal for the Crowsnest Pass Area. Lethbridge, Alberta. Alberta. Department of Municipal Affairs, November, 1966.

Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. Crowsnest Pass Subregional Plan - Characteristics, Problems, Proposals. Lethbridge, Alberta. Alberta. Department of Municipal Affairs, 1969.

Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. The Haves and Have-Nots: A Comment on Land Use Planning and Political Amalgamation in the Crowsnest Pass. (The same paper was released under the title, The Haves and Have-Nots - The Communities of the Crowsnest Pass. December 12, 1975) Lethbridge, Alberta. Alberta. Department of Municipal Affairs, 1973.

Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. The Haves and Have-Nots - The Communities of the Crowsnest Pass. Lethbridge, Alberta. Alberta. Department of Municipal Affairs, December 12, 1975.

Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. The Municipality of Crowsnest Pass: General Municipal Plan. Lethbridge, Alberta. Alberta. Department of Municipal Affairs, June, 1986.

Pal, Leslie, A. Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction. Methuen, Toronto. 1987.

Pannekoek, Fritz. Director of the Historic Sites Service, Historical Resources Division, Alberta Culture/Department of Culture/Department of Culture and Multiculturalism from 1979 continuing to 1992. Personal interview. July 15, 1990.

Patrick, Russell. Alberta Historical Anecdotes. unpublished paper. no date.

Patrick, Russell. Letter from Mr. Patrick, Provincial Secretary, Department of the Provincial Secretary, Edmonton, Alberta, to W. H. Cranston, Archaeological and Historic Sites Advisory Board, Department of Travel and Publicity, Government of Ontario. May 24, 1960. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 71.172, Box 2, File Historic Sites - Provincial Secretary Files.

Patrick, Russell. Provincial Secretary. "Alberta's Recreational Program." The Municipal Counsellor. Edmonton, Alberta: The Department of Municipal Affairs. July, 1960.

Piercy, Linda. "Urban Sprawl in Coleman, Frank and Blairmore: Possible Future Development in Alberta's Section of the Crowsnest Pass, 1966." Unpublished paper, University of Calgary. 1966.

Post-war Reconstruction Committee. Final Report of the Alberta Post-war Reconstruction Committee, 1945: Approach to the Problem and Recommendations. Alberta. Department of Economic Affairs. Edmonton, Alberta: Queen's Printer, March, 1945.

Progressive Conservative Party of Alberta. NOW - New Directions for Alberta in the Seventies. Edmonton, Alberta. 1971.

"Regulation." The Canadian Law Dictionary. Toronto: Law and Business Publications(Canada) Incorporated. 1980.

Riviere, Georges de. "The Ecomuseum - An Evolutive Definition." Museum 37(4). 1985.

Schmid, Horst. Memo from Minister Schmid of Culture, Youth and Recreation, Edmonton, Alberta, to Dr. Louis Lemieux, Secretary, Consultive Committee, National Museums Corporation, Ottawa, Ontario. November 28, 1972. Provincial Archives, Edmonton, Alberta. Access # 88.239, Box #5, File Box #1.

Schmid, Horst. Minister of the Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation from 1972 to 1975. Minister in charge of Alberta Culture from 1975 to 1980. Personal interviews. July 3, 10, 1990.

Simeon, R. "Studying Public Policy." Canadian Journal of Political Science. 1976, 9(4), 548-579.

Spatuk, Anne. President of The Crowsnest Pass Historical Society 1975 and continuing to 1992. Personal interview. June 20, 1990.

Special Projects and Policy Research(1). Crowsnest Pass Amalgamation Study: Summary Report. Edmonton, Alberta: Queen's Printer. Alberta. Department of Municipal Affairs, 1977.

Special Projects and Policy Research(2). Crowsnest Pass Amalgamation Study: Boundaries and Organization. Preliminary Draft for Discussion Purposes. Edmonton, Alberta: Queen's Printer. Alberta. Department of Municipal Affairs, 1977.

Stelter, G. A. and Artibise, A. F. (eds) The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History. revised edition. Ottawa: Carlton University Press. 1984.

Strom, Harry E. Premier of Alberta. A New Cultural Policy for the Province of Alberta. Presented to the Alberta Multicultural Conference. July 16, 1971.

Taylor, J. H. "Urban Autonomy in Canada: Its Evolution and Decline." in G. A. Stelter and A. F. Artibise, (eds) The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History. revised edition. Ottawa: Carleton University Press. 1984.

Tracy, William. Planner for Alberta Culture 1980. Chief of Planning for the Department of Culture and Multiculturalism from 1985 and continuing to 1992. Personal interview. July 4, 1990.

Tuchman, Barbara W. Practising History: Selected Essays by Barbara Tuchman. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1981.

United Nations. United Nations Education Social and Cultural Organization. Recommendation on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations, adopted by the General Conference at its ninth session, New Delhi, December, 1956. Paris France, 1957. New York, New York, U.S..

United Nations. United Nations Education Social and Cultural Organization. International Instruments for the Protection of Monuments, Groups of Buildings and Sites. Paris. June 30, 1971. New York, New York, U.S..

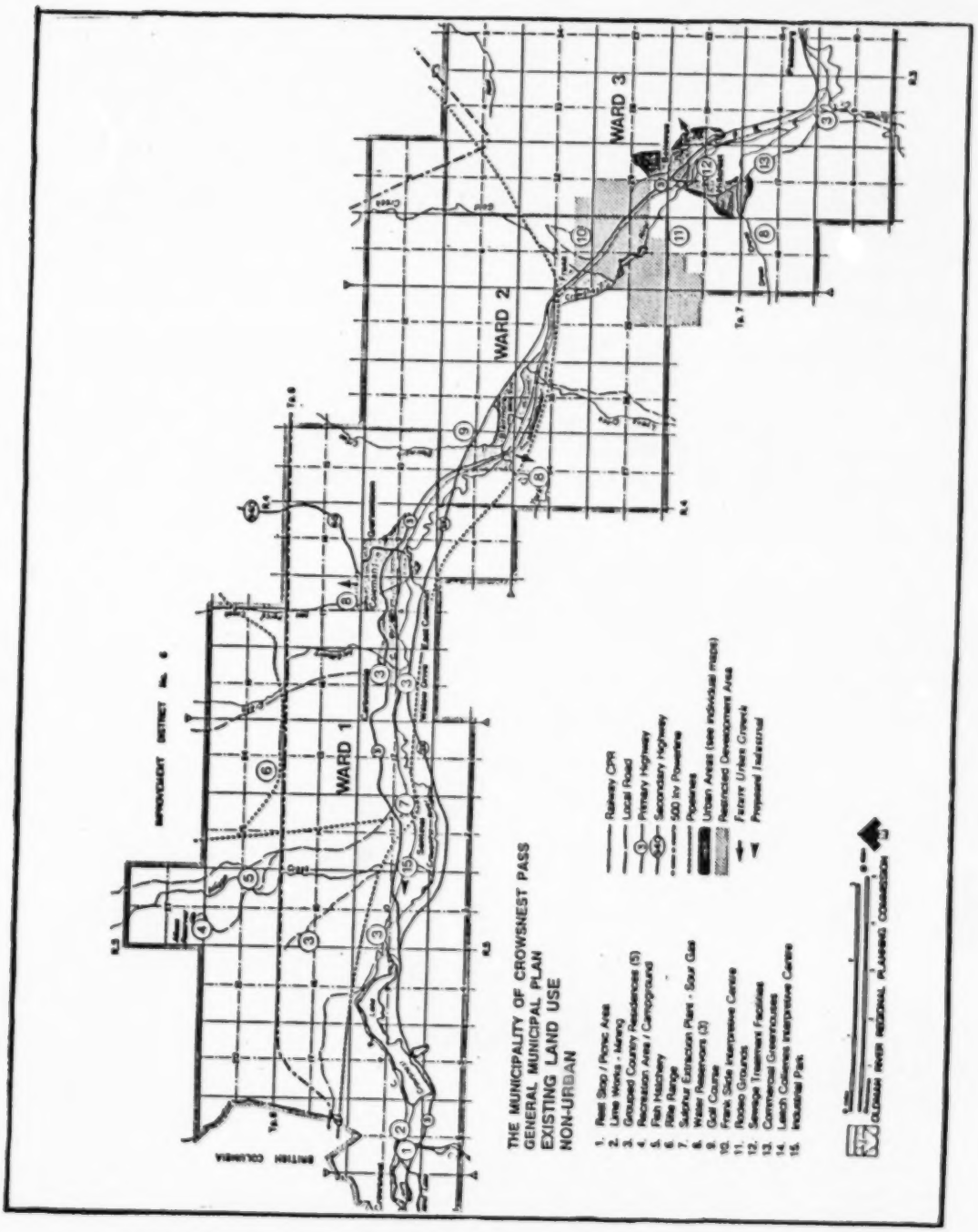
Vuchnich, A. C. "The Environment Conservation Authority 1970 - 1977: An Assessment and Analysis." Masters thesis. University of Calgary. April 1980.

Walker, D.M. The Oxford Companion to Law. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1980.

APPENDIX A

Map of the Crowsnest Pass - Alberta side
Ward System 1979

This is a detailed map of the Crowsnest Pass indicating both great detail of the almost contiguous positions of the various communities of the Pass as well as the municipal council's system of electing three representatives from each ward of the municipality. The map also gives a good indication of the crowded nature of land-use within the Pass given the large number of services using the Pass as a conduit to BC.(Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. 1986. p. 18)



Map 3 - Crowsnest Pass - Alberta Side, Ward System 1979
Source: Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, 1986, p. 18

APPENDIX B

Municipal Policy In Alberta - 1905 to 1979

In Canada, at the beginning of the 20th century, there was a senior government understanding of non-interference in municipal affairs. Stelter and Artibise(1984, 479) wrote,

> . . . most senior governments as a matter of political policy were non-interventionist. Local governments were by and large left alone to deal with both the progress and the problems of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century society and economy. And, a matter of some significance, they did so largely out of their own pocketbooks.

Further, Magnusson and Sancton(1983, 24) observed that,

> The welfare state and the planned economy were regarded as 'socialist' ideas and widely condemned by responsible politicians. Municipal autonomy in matters of social welfare and economic development was regarded as a necessary condition for freedom, and centralization was an obvious threat to it.

The Alberta government's understanding of municipal autonomy was consistent with overall Canadian thought. Municipal autonomy was jealously guarded and successive provincial governments gave Albertans as much freedom as possible in political decision making at this level.(Barr, 1974; Progressive Conservative Party, 1971)

However, Alberta's rapid development from 1905 to 1910, and subsequent other boom periods, led to significant land-use abuses in municipalities. Successive provincial governments from the early 1900's through to the 1970's saw that some form of provincial control was needed. Individual municipalities were not willing and often not able to legislate land-use controls because competing municipalities

would entice developers and industry by relaxing land-use controls or providing incentives.(Bettison et al, 1975, 10) The long-term effect was immediate revenue gain but an increasing gap between municipal revenue and the cost of maintaining services.

Municipal problems and abuses of this nature grew rapidly, especially after the discovery of oil in 1947. Bettison et al(1975, 138) stated,

> As the city debt increased, incurred to provide public amenities large enough to supply predicted rates of growth, so the more urgent did it become that industry and commerce be attracted to them to provide urban employment opportunities. Private business, noting the city's amenities, pressed for rapid growth to enhance its profits.

And that was just the beginning. A commuting workforce from bedroom communities surrounding larger municipalities resulted in the loss of residential property taxation for the larger municipality. (Magnusson and Sancton, 1983, 21) The migration of workers from the inner cities to bedroom communities resulted in low income and welfare residents migrating to the urban center thus further increasing municipal costs.(Masson, 1985, 58) Alberta's larger municipalities were facing a no-win situation.

In the early 1900's, the provincial government began to legislate overall controls on municipal land-use development through planning legislation. Under the Town Planning Act of 1921, city subsidization of industry was to be regulated by the Department of Municipal Affairs to prevent abuse and possible later bankruptcy due to the accumulation of large public debt.(Bettison et al, 1975, 21) Though the Minister of Municipal Affairs had been given these powers through the act, the government chose not to fully exercise them.(Masson, 1985, 260; Bettison et al, 1975, 25)

Instead, successive provincial governments used indirect methods of influence. Through the 1918 Public Highways Act, for instance, the province controlled highway development. Municipal decision makers had to take overall provincial policy in this and many other areas into consideration.(Masson, 1985, 45)

From the 1920's, municipal authorities were slowly being overwhelmed by the service needs of their growing populations and the necessity to construct infrastructure to assist industry. Taylor(1984, 479) observed, "By the late 1920's, many local governments were finding it difficult to sustain such efforts and were beginning to call for a re-adjustment among all levels of government revenues and responsibility."

The situation continued much the same until the 1930's depression and drought. Throughout the 1930's, the provincial government assisted municipalities through loans, loan guarantees, and generally the relaxation of what little control it had under the 1929 Planning Act. Due to severe financial problems, the municipalities gave the provincial government responsibility for most social programs.

Despite this situation, through the 1920's and 1930's the need for overall provincial coordination of economic and social development became increasingly apparent. The provincial responsibility for social programs and overall economic development made some restriction of municipal autonomy necessary.

In support of the increasing provincial role in the provision of social programs and economic support of industry, the provincial government placed restrictions on the municipal tax system to prepare the way for provincial entry into certain taxation areas. Taylor(1984, 485) outlined the type of restrictions imposed and the resulting municipal revenue problems.

> . . . provincial authorities . . . eliminated local income taxes, sales taxes, and personal property taxes; eliminated or reduced the local share of liquor and motor vehicle taxes; and in some instances placed restrictions on untrammeled exploitation of the property tax. By the end of the 1930s, the major remaining tax field left to local government, the property tax, was approaching the limits of exploitation. The costs of services local government was expected or required to provide continued, however, to rise. The result was a growing gap between what local governments could raise on their own and the total amount of revenue they required. The transfer payment, usually in the form of a conditional grant, was the device used to close the gap.

Up to 1946, the increased demand for municipal services was met by a provincial and federal system of grants and the local government's only major form of revenue, the property tax.(Masson, 1985, 211)[1]

After 1947, the provincial government had control over most provincial tax sources. Bettison et al(1975, 87) stated,

> . . . the provincial government had total control of major financial resources, the growing petroleum industry and generation of electrical power. This power was centralized in the provincial government but decentralized to an array of ad hoc boards. Behind these boards and commissions, and influencing them through a variety of powers and financial measures, was the cabinet or a minister.

The SC government, determined to maintain the illusion of municipal autonomy while essentially controlling municipal policy, delegated authority to government controlled ad hoc boards and commissions while controlling municipal spending through conditional grants.

After 1947, municipal governments were being pushed to their limits due to Alberta's rapidly increasing population. Through the 1950 Town and Rural Planning Act, the provincial government set up District Planning Commissions(DPC) to coordinate regional planning within a particular area. The move was an attempt to motivate voluntary regional planning between municipalities within a particular DPC.

As an attempt to control competition between municipalities, the provision was only partly successful. Municipal participation in a DPC was voluntary and, under the Act, business concerning a particular municipality could not be conducted at a meeting at which representatives of that municipality were not present. An unfavorable decision concerning a particular municipality could be avoided by boycotting the meetings.(Bettison et al, 1975, 98; Masson, 1985, 261-62)

---

[1]There are four main sources of local government revenue - locally collected taxes, charges for public services(user fees), borrowing, and aid from higher levels of governments(grants).

Municipal land development abuses continued due to the lack of sufficient revenue. In the early 1950's the provincial government increased funding through loan assistance, conversion of overlapping boundaries, unconditional and conditional grant increases and tax subsidies with the intent of reducing the tax burden on the public.(Bettison et al, 1975, 106)[1]

Notwithstanding this, for rapidly growing municipalities it was never enough. They were forced to increase debt loads in order to prepare infrastructure for forecasted population increases and industrial development. Magnusson and Sancton(1983, 26-27) concluded,

> Despite the extent of public investment, the growth of cities still depended on private enterprise. This put the municipal councils in a weak position in relation to private entrepreneurs. . . . The municipalities generally took the attitude that their function was to facilitate private investment, by creating the appropriate conditions for it.

To complicate matters, the federal government, assuming its responsibility was to ensure the expansion of the Canadian economy, became involved in guaranteeing mortgages and loan guarantees. The provincial government supported this position through conditional grants for improving municipal services. Municipal government found itself both led and forced into competition for industry to supplement growing debt loads.(Magnusson and Sancton,1983, 27)

Into the 1960's, municipalities continued to demand greater revenue sharing from the provincial government through unconditional grants. However, the SC government refused to establish a consistent revenue sharing arrangement with Alberta's municipalities, preferring instead the annual allocation of conditional and unconditional grants.

---

[1]A conditional grant ". . . is given on the basis of relative need . . . to enable local governments to provide a range of municipal services without unduly burdening their citizenry." An unconditional grant ". . . is given . . . on a cost-shared basis. . . . the provincial government provides a certain percentage of funds for a specified purpose and the municipality is required to provide the remaining funding." (Masson, 1985, 211)

The municipality was placed in an irresolvable position. The provincial government steadfastly refused to further limit municipal powers to control competition for industry and residential development. The government also refused to provide an adequate level of revenue for municipalities to adequately service their rapidly expanding infrastructure. According to Bettison et al(1975, 110), the provincial government had relinquished its responsibilities in this area.

> There was no regional or provincial emphasis. There was no conception at the provincial level of developing Alberta's collective affairs in terms of a strategy which linked what was occurring in the world outside the province to the attributes and potential of the local authorities, at the grass-roots level, within the province. It was left to local councils to attract and negotiate with extra-provincial business and professional personnel about the terms of their settlement within the local jurisdiction.

The situation led to high municipal debt accumulation. In 1957 the provincial government again attempted to address the situation. The Town and Rural Planning Act was amended to require municipalities with 50,000 or more population to prepare a district general plan. Further, final subdivision approval was delegated to regional authorities.

In 1961, the act was amended again such that the DPCs, which under the Act became Regional Planning Commissions(RPC), were to prepare a regional plan to be approved at the provincial level. In addition there were other provisions which streamlined the provincial planning process. However, there was no deadline for preparation of the municipal and regional plans - a loophole for municipalities and RPCs.(Masson, 1985, 263) The effect was a very slight increase in provincial control over the municipal planning process but had little real effect in controlling land-use abuses and municipal competition.

In 1968, the SC government amended the Planning Act making it mandatory for an RPC to have a preliminary regional plan by 1972. The intent was to coerce municipalities to collectively plan and thus limit competition. Still, municipal participation in the RPC planning

process was still voluntary.(Masson, 1985, 263; Bettison et al, 1975, 200) Very little action in regional plan development took place.

In 1971, to push municipalities into regional planning, the SC government established the Alberta Planning Fund to which all municipalities were forced to contribute regardless of participation. (Bettison et al, 1975, 202) Yet, municipalities were still not compelled to take part in regional planning. Once again the attempt to force municipalities into voluntary activity failed and regional plans were not completed.

In 1971, the PC government came to power, inheriting the planning problems of the SC government. In addition to a change of government, the environmental movement began to intervene in the municipal planning area. The public was increasingly concerned about the environmental effects of rapid industrial development and urbanization. The PC government responded in part with a new Planning Act in 1971.(Masson, 1985, 263) In 1972 the Act was again amended to force RPCs to complete the preliminary regional plans. Only the Calgary and Edmonton RPCs responded with plans.

Throughout the 1970's the PC government, as had the SC government, steadfastly refused to legislate direct control over municipalities. As Lightbody(1983, 279) speculated, a number of factors probably limited PC thoughts of increased provincial control. First, there was a government commitment to economic decentralization within the province. Second, the provincial government, embroiled in the midst of a federal-provincial confrontation over energy and constitutional matters, could not bring itself to diminish perceived municipal powers. Third, the PC government was not willing to legislate into existence a ". . . competitive political force by unifying the government of their major population centres."(Lightbody, 1983, 279) The continued fragmentation of local government surrounding the major urban centers prevented the creation of such a major political force.

Nevertheless, the PC government chose to control municipal policy through increased conditional grants.(Masson, 1975, 276) Atkinson and Chandler(1983, 61) wrote,

> Alberta's government seems to be more concerned with changing the distributional and allocational consequences of the east-west economic relationships than with providing a more equitable distribution of economic benefits within the province or with using the power of the state to deconcentrate economic power.

Though direct and indirect controls on municipalities had been put in place, municipal competition continued as did the acrimonious state of relations within RPCs. Masson(1985, 275) argued that,

> The root cause of the animosity between large cities and their outlying municipalities is money. With municipalities dependent upon inadequate provincial grants and locally derived property taxes for most of their revenue, and with regional planning commissions trying to make binding decisions on the location of industry, it is not surprising that the politics of planning often become bitter. If municipalities had an adequate revenue base there would be less competition for revenue-producing industries and, consequently, there would be greater emphasis on developing regional plans that would mitigate social problems in the area.

From 1905, the state of affairs with municipalities had not changed significantly. Provincial control of municipal land-use planning had evolved into minor direct changes to the provincial planning process and indirect control through ad-hoc boards and commissions and conditional grants. The PC government refused to place further controls on municipal land-use development and also refused to increase unconditional grants to municipalities. Municipalities continued to be saddled with the problem of lack of sufficient revenue to meet service needs and thus continued to compete for industry and residents.

APPENDIX C

Crowsnest Pass History Up to and Including 1962

University of Calgary archaeologist Dr. B. Reeves describes the Crowsnest Pass as the most important historic and prehistoric area in the Canadian Rockies. He stated,

> The Pass's long and complex cultural and land use history extends back from today's people and their places of work and residence of the last 70 years, to the first native peoples who, some 10,000 or more years ago, settled the Pass during the waning of the last Ice Age.(The Crowsnest Pass Historical Society Committee, 1980, 13)

Reeves found numerous prehistoric campsites in the Pass with the most important ones ". . . at the east end of Crowsnest Lake and another at Frank, [which] reveal that the Pass was occupied at least on a seasonal basis as early as 8,000 years ago by Paleo-Indian hunters and fishermen."(Cartlidge, 1980, 14) More recent occupation occurred about 3,500 years ago by ancestors of the Kootenai Indians. A survey placed the number of 3,500 year old sites in the Pass at 250, the most in any mountain valley pass in Canada.

The first definite record of occupation was 11,000 years ago with distinct cultures living and travelling through the Pass. Hunting, fishing and trapping were the main activities among an extensive trading network.(The Crowsnest Pass Historical Society Committee, 1980, 13) The inhabitants were attracted to the Pass by its mild climate and abundant game.

The Pass also served as an east-west link between the prairie grasslands and the interior of British Columbia(BC). Within its Proposed Development Plan for the Crowsnest Pass Historic and Coal

Mining Corridor, the Crowsnest Pass Ecomuseum Trust(1988, 6) stated,

> The history of the Crowsnest Pass is one of successive groups of people moving into the Pass from the plains to mingle with and displace earlier peoples. This pattern has been repeated during the past 75 years with the arrival of various ethnic groups who were originally attracted to the area by the prospects of employment in the coal mines.

The first white man of record to view the Pass was a missionary, Father Jean de Smet, in 1845.(Cousins, 1981, 19; Cartlidge, 1980, 15) There was no indication that he ever fully explored the Pass. The next recorded sighting by a white man was Lieutenant Blakiston, with the Palliser expedition of 1858, who wrote of exploring portions of the Pass while Palliser explored more southerly areas of southern Alberta.(Cousins, 1981, 20; Cartlidge, 1980, 15) In 1873, Michael Phillips, a Hudson's Bay Company factor, became the first white man to traverse the Pass. He was prospecting and reported finding many coal deposits.(Cousins, 1981, 21; Piercy, 1966, 6)

The next year Phillips convinced the BC government to provide a small sum of money to open a trail which then became widely used by cattlemen.(Cousins, 1981, 22) George Dawson, a federal geologist, explored the Pass while surveying in 1882/83 and also reported many large coal deposits. He advised his superiors that the Pass was an ideal route for construction of the Trans-Canada Railroad.(Kerr, no date, 1) The construction of a Pass railroad was initially rejected by the Canadian government for security reasons as it was too close to the U.S. Border.(Cousins, 1981, 23; Kerr, no date, 1) However, the increasing military use of the Pass and the reports of huge coal reserves heightened interest in the region.

William Fernie of Fort Steele(an experienced coal miner) and Lieutenant-Colonel Baker(a member of the BC Legislature), acting on Michael Phillip's reports of major coal deposits, began prospecting in the Elk Valley on the BC side of the Pass in 1887. Between 1887 and 1897 the two men formed a syndicate in Victoria to develop the Elk

River and Marten Creek basin coal reserves.(Cousins, 1981, 28; Lake, 1972, 32) Cousins(1981, 28) reports that,

> This was followed by the organization of a Company to build the B.C. Southern Railway, which also took over the interests of the coal syndicate. Little progress was made, however, until the formation of the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company in 1897.

The Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company subsequently began to pressure the federal government for the construction of a railroad through the Pass. Until such happened little could be done to develop the coal reserves.

The development of the railroad was a significant occurrence for Pass settlement and economic development. Cousins reported two sources of agitation for building the railroad through the Pass into BC. First, there was pressure from the BC government over concern that its wealth would flow to the United States while BC residents were isolated from the interior and the rest of Canada. The southern threat increased as James J. Hill, owner of the Great Northern Railroad, planned an expansion of feeder lines north into Canada.(Cousins, 1981, 30; Cartlidge, 1980, 7)

Second, there was agitation from southeastern Alberta's ranching community. The group feared that Lethbridge would become the end of the rail for Western Canada, cutting off BC as a possible market for cattle. Further, the building of the CPR through Calgary meant less of a chance for a rail line to the coast through the Pass. The cattlemen lobbied to have the CPR extend the railroad through the Pass to the coast of BC.

The lobby had its desired effect. In 1897 the CPR and the government of Canada decided to expand a southern line of the CPR through the Pass into BC and the coast. The railroad was to ensure further Pass development as prospectors rushed to develop the rich coal reserves of the Region. From the federal point of view, the rail link would solidify Canada's orient trade by strengthening Canada's east-west trade links.

The coal deposits of the Pass Region became very important for BC, Alberta and Canada as it became a major source of supply for the rest of Canada. The Pass had both coking and steaming coal and the steaming coal was of superior quality. The Pass became the major supplier for the railroad while its coking coal supplied the smelters of BC, Eastern Canada and later the Japanese market.(Cartlidge, 1980, 15)

After the development of the Pass railroad, the coal and lumbering industries grew swiftly. Lumbering, ranching and other industry developed as a support network for both the railroad and the coal mining industry.(Cousins, 1981, 95) Lumbering became a major industry but soon declined due to clear cut methods which denuded easily reached areas. Lake(1972, 65) stated, "Lumbering was never as important to the economy of any Alberta Pass settlements as at Fernie, because timber was much less abundant in and immediately adjacent to the core on the Alberta side."

The region's early settlement patterns show that migration to the Alberta side of the Pass(Alberta pass) began in 1901 and continued to its peak in 1910. The settlements of Coleman, Blairmore and Frank were formed in 1901 while Frank, Lille, Bellevue, Hillcrest Mines, Passburg and Burmis were formed between 1903 and 1910.(Lake, 1972, 39)

As the rush came to claim and develop the coal, the 1890's and the 1900's were characterized by lawlessness, drunkenness and houses of prostitution. There was gambling associated with the fanatical support of the local sports teams and hockey became the major sport with imported players and high stakes.(Cousins, 1981, 57-59) When prohibition became a reality in Canada and the United States, and the two countries voted "dry", the Pass voted "wet". The Pass gained notoriety across Canada for its criminal element and was held up as the Canadian example of the major prohibition crime element in the United States. Fernie became the bootlegging center for Alberta and the U.S to the south. Bootlegging, raids and fires were to become part of the local scene until its decline around 1924.(Cousins, 1981, 66)

Accommodations for the majority of the miners were wooden shacks placed on blocks for easy mobility in case of mine shutdown. Outdoor privys were common except for Fernie which to this time had the only sewer system.(Cousins, 1981, 70) The settlements were juxtaposed, in most cases, with a coal mine or other industry. Lake(1972, 38) stated,

> Coal mining was the raison d'etre of the Pass during its first thirteen years of existence as a permanently settled area: only three settlements were not mining-based communities. Sparwood's existence depended on a lumber mill, Crowsnest became a divisional point for the CPR, and Elko possessed both lumbering and railroad repair and maintenance functions.

Eight of thirteen mine-settlement complexes established in the Pass up to 1911 were located in the Alberta Pass despite the fact that there was less coal here and it was of lower coking quality. Lake(1972, 55) observed that "Individual prospectors and companies alike flooded to the Alberta side of the Pass because no one company controlled more than a small fraction of the coal lands." The BC Pass was dominated by the early start and huge reserves controlled by the Crows Nest Pass Coal Company.

The proliferation of mines meant many small mining settlements as close to the mine head as the rugged mountain terrain permitted. Thus Alberta Pass development was more haphazard while the company-controlled settlements of the BC Pass were limited to a smaller number of settlements established by the mine companies.(Lake, 1972, 44)

The development of accommodation for the miners was ". . . an unwanted financial millstone. . . " but it was a necessary business operating expense.(Lake, 1972, 108) Within all settlements, the mining company was involved to a greater or lesser extent in the initial provision and ownership of housing. Later housing was often provided by the miners and developed in a haphazard fashion.

The people of the Alberta Pass had to band together to survive. The coal companies were interested only in keeping expenses down and profits up and so provided minimum municipal services and mine

safety precautions. Within many settlements ethnic groups formed hospitals, benevolent societies, social organizations, and recreation/leisure facilities.(The Crowsnest Pass Historical Society Committee, 1980, 322) The resident's fierce loyalty to the community was in part due to these self-help organizations.

The boundary of BC/Alberta, which split the Crowsnest Region north-south, meant the legal and jurisdictional separation of the Pass. However, unions regarded the area as one common territory and worked it as a common unit. Thus all union demands, especially wage rates, tended to be similar. Trade in the Pass developed as a single unit and continued this trend into the 1980's.

The Miner's Union had an important influence on the Pass economic and political situation. Often the union was the miners' only voice for addressing both living and working conditions. Grievances associated with dangerous working conditions, better pay, ethnic discrimination, and so forth were expressed through the union.

The labour movement in Alberta, and the Pass specifically, was a result of the brutal employment on the railways and in the mines. Caragata(1979, 1) stated, "Like most things on the Prairies, the labour movement in Alberta owes its birth to the CPR." Financiers from Montreal built the railroad with the backing of the federal government and their objective was to build the railroad as inexpensively as possible. Much of the work was contracted out to cut costs.

The federal and provincial governments, realizing the importance of the project and Canada's poor economic situation, legislated Masters and Servants ordinances ". . . which made it a crime for a workman to desert his employer. "(Caragata, 1979, 2) The NWMP scrupulously enforced the law. Caragata(1979, 2) pointed out,

> In the wilderness that was the Prairie the men were at the mercy of the sub-contractors. Hundreds of miles from anywhere and living in isolation, the navvies were reinforced by legislation and by the police.

The workmen were housed in barbaric conditions and given little food, shelter and medical assistance even during the coldest winters.

The situation was similar in the coal mining industry. Brutal mining conditions were wrought by what Caragata referred to as the formative nature of industry in Canada and the frequent depressions which ravaged the Canadian frontier during Alberta's early years. He observed,

> Coal mining was marked by frequent injury and death, low pay, brutal treatment, child labour, miserable living conditions and disease which found easy prey among poorly nourished and overworked men and women living in bunkhouses and crude shacks with virtually no sanitary facilities.(Caragata, 1979, 16)

Pete Youschok, one of the original Pass miners stated that the operators

> . . . forced them into the union then. Because if they treated us good, I'd have never been involved in a union because there'd be no damn reason to be involved.(Caragata, 1979,18)

The miners of Alberta were a natural for the development of a labour movement. As Cousins(1981, 110) stated,

> Being the only large industrial body in Alberta that is widely distributed and yet capable of being organized into a tight union, the coal miners have always been in the forefront of the fight to improve conditions of work and living.

Conditions of work and frequent economic depressions led to a very active miners union local within the Pass and indeed, all of Alberta. "Between 1914 and 1920, 80 of the 111 strikes reported in Alberta involved miners."(Caragata, 1979, 61)

During WW I, Pass miners used the increased demand for coal to press for concessions on work and pay conditions and got them. (Cousins, 1981, 64; Caragata, 1979, 63) With the end of the war, another recession and the accompanying high unemployment reversed many of these concessions. The Pass miners, facing a bleak future, decided to abandon the larger, more conciliatory mining unions and become involved in the decidedly leftist One Big Union. With the

formation of the One Big Union in 1919, and because of its subsequent Pass campaign, Pass miners' swung decidedly to the left.(Cartlidge, 1980, 16) In spite of this, little could be done to exact concessions from the depressed industry.

From 1924 onwards, due to the loss of markets, the miners continued to lose the concessions gained during the war years.(Caragata, 1979, 89) The period from the mild recession of the late 1920's to the deep recession of the 1930's was characterized by high unemployment and little or no work. The Great Northern Railway decided to abandon the line from Michel to Elko as inefficient and uneconomical. In addition the railway had been experimenting with oil burning engines and cut back on coal purchases. BC smelters, reacting to the loss markets, reduced coal purchases as well. Fernie suffered severely as they were the main supplier. When the depression of the 1930's hit the miners were already down to a few shifts per week.(Cousins, 1981, 72)

Mine operators, facing a bleak economic future, began to cut back even more. Strikes were called to protest the reduction in wages, work and safety conditions. Caragata(1979, 112) alleged that, "The drive to keep profit levels afloat in face of poor sales caused companies to take more chances with the lives of miners than was usually the case."

High unemployment among the relatively young coal miners led to a rise in communist sentiment. The miners disavowed affiliations with communism but as Cousins(1981, 72) stated, ". . . their terminology was all communism." In an opposing opinion, Caragata(1979, 114) contended that,

> Support for the industrial policies of the party as reflected by the Mine Workers Union was probably based more on a desire to fight operators than a desire to fight for the kind of social change the party was advocating.

Further Caragata(1979, 110) explained that,

> While the established unions were scrambling to keep their members employed, even if that means negotiating wage cuts, the

> Communists and their trade union central, the Workers Unity League, fought back. In 1933, they claimed leadership in 75 percent of all the strikes in the country. In Alberta, at least, the claim was justified . . . . . What the workers needed in the coming period was a new, tough and fighting trade union centre that would not back meekly away from the tremendous obstacles to working class action.

The miners voted out the old established union leaders and put their own leaders in charge. Many were elected to local school boards and town councils. Blairmore elected a workers council and gained nation-wide notoriety by renaming its main street Tim Buck Boulevard after the national secretary of Canada's Communist Party. Confrontations between the communist element and the more moderate miners often resulted in fights at local union meetings.(Cousins, 1981, 73; Cartlidge, 1980, 16; Caragata, 1979, 114)

The Pass strike of 1932, centered in Blairmore and Bellevue, resulted in organized opposition to the communists.(Cousins, 1981, 75) Businessmen, newspapers, moderate miners, churches and even the Ku Klux Klan banded together to voice and express their opposition to the "foreign born".(Caragata, 1979, 115) Striking miners had their water and electricity cut off and throughout the dispute had to rely on handouts for sustenance. Caragata(1979, 114) stated that

> . . . none soon forgot the 1932 Pass strike. Its effects were felt as late as 1974 when six residents of the area . . . after 42 years, received Canadian citizenship papers which had been denied them because they had been involved in the strike and were suspected of Bolshevik sentiment.

The decision to affiliate with the more radical unions was not universally accepted. Caragata(1979, 114) wrote,

> Throughout the Pass, and in particular at Coleman, divisions between the party and the moderates widened to form an unbreachable chasm. . . . At its peak the strike involved all the

> mines in the Crowsnest except Hillcrest, which had maintained its opposition to any form of trade unionism at all since the break-up in 1925.

The division among the miners came along ethnic background and political leanings. The situation was also exacerbated by mine operators who showed favoritism to certain miners, giving them the best jobs.

> East Europeans were often given the worst places to work. . . First generation non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants, because of the racism they encountered and because they were generally less-skilled than British immigrants, had often shown a more marked tendency to support radical policies. . . .(Caragata, 1979, 115)

Cousins reported three major divisions in the Pass municipalities. The first group - the slavs, comprised of Russians, Poles, Ukrainians, Yugo-slavs, Czechs and Slovaks, were the largest group. The second group was formed from those originating in the British Isles, America and Eastern Canada. The third group were the Italians who formed a sizeable portion of all Pass municipalities. As Cousins(1981, 116) stated, "These European peoples are prone to stay together in groups. The larger the group, the more likely the people are to live in proximity to each other."

Coleman was unique in this regard. West Coleman was "Slavtown", second street was "Italiantown" and East Coleman was the home of the Poles and Ukrainians. This zoning blurred as second and third generation descendants moved into other areas of the municipalities and the Pass. Initially there was strong discrimination and feeling of white superiority among the miners but this was broken down through intermarriage.(Cousins, 1981, 117)

The coal industry was subject to alternating periods of prosperity and depression. The boom conditions which prevailed during the late 1890's and 1900's soon changed to depression and decline. Over-development of BC smelting operations and the optimistic over-development of the coal mining industry, along with the loss of the European market because of World War I, meant the closure of

inefficient mines. The economy improved in 1916 as demand for coal rose due to Canada's war effort but this soon declined at the end of the war.(Cousins, 1981, 64) After 1918, high unemployment and recession hit the Pass once again.

In the early 1920's there was more work for Pass miners. Cousins(1981, 68) reports increased employment and the construction of many permanent houses with power, sewage systems and central heating furnaces. The surviving Pass communities were becoming more established and permanent.

The depression of the 1930's hit the Pass hard. The depressed situation eased somewhat from 1933 to 1940 as markets for coking coal improved.(Cousins, 1981, 77) Cartlidge(1980, 17), however, stated that the period from 1930 to 1939 was not much improved over the light recessions after the first World War and during the latter 1920's. The second World War put an end to the 1930's depression as industrial and mining production was on the rise. As was the case during WW I, Pass miners used the strike as a lever to gain concessions.(Caragata, 1979, 132)

After World War II slumping markets thrust the coal industry back into decline.(Cartlidge, 1980, 17; Cousins, 1981, 78) But, this time there was a greater threat to the industry.

Railroad companies had been experimenting with oil burning engines but in Alberta the switch had never been made because the prairies lacked a consistent source of oil. However, after the 1947 discovery of oil at Leduc the situation changed and the railroad companies switched fuels. Further, natural gas took over the home heating market dealing a further blow to the industry.(Cousins, 1981, 129; Caragata, 1979, 132) The discovery of oil ushered in an unprecedented period of prosperity for Alberta while devastating the coal industry.

The mood within the Pass was one of great uncertainty - what was the future of coal? The loss of markets and over-production meant the closure of less efficient, poorer quality mines. The Alberta Pass coal mines were hardest hit as their coal was of poorer coking quality and much more difficult to mine.

In 1957 the last underground coal mine in operation on the Alberta side, West Canadian Collieries at Bellevue, was shut down.(Cartlidge, 1980, 6) Other industry helped cushion the impact, most notably lumbering, but the local economy declined significantly.(Cartlidge, 1980, 17) The local economy looked grim but as Cousins(1981, 131) claimed,

> The people of the Pass may feel a sense of foreboding over the immediate prospects of the main industry, but they do not lose their love of their rugged home nor their faith that the coal reserves of the Crow's Nest Pass will eventually become of great importance to Canada.

There was more to the Pass economy than the development of the coal industry but the coal industry was the dominant employer while other industry played a supporting role. With the development of the coal mines had come the service industries - hotels and their bars, livery stables, bakeries, telegraph and telephone services, boarding houses, banks, brothels, meat markets, and so forth.(Cartlidge, 1980, 9) Other industry in the region included ranching which supplied horses and cattle for domestic and industrial needs. Lumbering rivalled coal mining in importance to the early economy but the advent of the railroad heightened the coal industry while the reduction of forest stocks meant its decline to secondary status.(Cousins, 1981, 95; Lake, 1972, 83)

Despite these lesser, though important secondary industries, the pattern was set for the Pass economy. The Pass was developed as a resource extractive region with coal mining as its major industry. The economy was to fluctuate with the local, national and international demand for coal. Further, the Alberta Pass had a greater susceptibility to fluctuating markets due to the poorer quality of coal and the more difficult mining techniques required.

Between 1951 and 1961, employment in coal mining declined by sixty-three percent but the population declined by only sixteen percent.(Caragata, 1979, 113) The reason for the slow population decline was both the decision of many unemployed coal miners to stay

and the expansion of other Pass industry. Lumbering, gas processing and gas pipeline construction provided some employment. The tourism industry expanded with the construction of a paved highway through the Pass in the early 1950's. However, the economy remained stagnant into the 1960's.

The physical settlement patterns of the Pass changed as well with the local economic fluctuations. The initial period of settlement of the Region, which Lake(1972, 165) calls the "Colonizing Period of Rapid Expansion" from 1889 to 1911, was characterized by the grouping of settlements close to local industry - coal and lumbering. Settlements, because of transportation difficulties within the mountain region, clustered as close as possible to the industrial site. Settlement planning was haphazard due to the large number of mining companies, the lack of planning controls, the need to reside as close as possible to the industrial site, and the uneven mountain terrain.

Lake's "Period of Moderate Expansion" from 1911 to 1951 was one of diversification of industry and increasing mechanization of basic industrial transportation. The result was the consolidation of both industry and Pass settlements. This meant the centralization of business service districts and the development of a prominent road and rail network. Lake(1972, 165) reports the separation of processing plants from settlements began as the resource base close to the settlements was depleted. The consolidating process resulted in the abandonment of all settlements outside the core by 1951 together with an increase, or decreased rate of decline, in the population of other settlements.(Lake, 1972, 100)

Another factor in the concentration of settlements in the Pass was that residents were beginning to express a desire for more habitable and less isolated settlements. The regrowth of spruce, pine and poplar within the core and surrounding areas enhanced the valley's attractiveness and the residents began to move into the core.(Lake, 1972, 113)

Lake's "Period of Contraction" from 1952 to 1967 documented the severe hardship which flowed from the development of the oil industry and the inevitable decline in the coal industry. The

settlements contracted even further with increasing centralization of Pass service industry. Blairmore became the service hub of the Alberta Pass while Fernie assumed that role in the BC Pass. The separation of basic industry from settlements continued as the depletion of resources close to settlements continued. The demand for more hospitable living conditions continued as well as the people became increasingly aware of industrial pollution.

Lake's final period is "The Period of Renewed Expansion" from 1968 to 1971. He recounts an increase in the trends towards centralization of services and populations and the separation of industry from settlements. People were becoming increasingly aware of the aesthetic nature of their lifestyle and the period is marked by the increasing reclamation of mined and deforested areas. These trends continue to this day as industry is almost completely separated from the settlements of the area.

The Pass residents had developed a rather unique social structure which fit their lifestyle and much has been said of the Pass 'mountain people'.[1] Lake(1972, 8) suggested that Pass residents had developed a "Regional Identity" for three reasons, (1) the ease of travel along the core, (2) the isolation of the Pass from the densely-populated lower Fraser Valley through the interposition of several formidable, north-south trending mountain ranges, and (3) the aversion that coal miners had for prairie farmers.

Cousins proposed that coal miners moved so little and, when they did, moved from one mining region to another, producing an insularity similar to the hill settlements of the United States. He stated, "The young people were convinced that their towns were the centre of the world and that the rest of civilization surrounded them like a fringe."(Cousins,1981, 77)

The residents, isolated and often allied against the world, also suffered the effects of numerous disasters. One newspaper report on the Hillcrest Mining Disaster of 1914, stated,

---

[1]This observation has been made by the author through discussions with various people throughout the study - Helen Tremaine - Executive Director of the Ecomuseum Trust, two residents of the Pass, and Anne Spatuk - President of the Crowsnest Pass Historical Society.

> Slowly, but surely, the village of Hillcrest is returning to a natural condition of affairs. The widows, braving their loss and realizing that their children will need every attention, are bearing up with the stoicism peculiar to a mining community to whom sudden and violent death is not unknown.(Caragata, 1979, 30)

Besides other mining disasters, in 1903 a huge section of Turtle Mountain broke free in a slide which destroyed the south part of Frank, a number of ranches and the surface operations of the Frank Mine.(The Crowsnest Pass Historical Society Committee, 1980, 11) Cousins further reported heavy snowfalls which isolated communities from each other and from food and heating fuel. Flooding often occurred during the spring due to quick periods of melting as the area was prone to frequent chinooks and in the BC Pass, there were mud slides due to heavy rains. In addition, throughout the Pass, communities were often partially or wholly ravaged by forest fires.

The series of disasters, combined with the economic hardships which accompanied recessions, moulded a tough, stoic-minded people with close ethnic community bonds. The circumstances and events produced social groups which were not easily penetrated by newcomers.

APPENDIX D

Analysis of Historic Resource Legislation - 1973 to 1979

This appendix is divided into a number of sections to facilitate the analysis of historic resource legislation to 1979. The first section details the landmark Alberta Heritage Act 1973 and its immediate impact on provincial and municipal historic resource policy development. Under the Act, and subsequent amendments to 1979, controls on historic resource development were evident regarding three particular groups: the private sector; municipal governments; and provincial government Departments.

The second section serves to identify controls placed on historic resources on private land in Alberta while the third section provides an overview of government's control of municipal historic resource policy development. The final section identifies government control of other government Departments.

The Alberta Heritage Act 1973

The 1973 Alberta Heritage Act was a milestone in the further development of Alberta's historic resource policy base.(Alberta. Statutes of Alberta) With this Act, the government potentially controlled all historic resource development activity in Alberta, a vast step forward from the haphazard, museums oriented protection and development policy previously in place. For the first time, all historic resource policy and legislation in Alberta was concentrated in one Act under one Department. The problems associated with coordination between Departments were eliminated and all administrative efforts could be poured into Alberta's historic resource policy development from one central body.

However, it is important to note that the Historic Resources Legislation of the 1970's and 1980's was 'enabling' legislation which outlined certain areas which were to be regulated but left those unregulated areas open for any actions. It is also important to realize that a particular piece of legislation does not register an intent in most cases but does register an authority to do so if the government chose to. This was the case with The Alberta Heritage Act.

The Act was successful in addressing many concerns in historic resource protection and preservation. The definitions for historic resources were very specific which gave Department officials a solid base on which to both designate sites and indicate the extent of historic resource protection under the Act. Also this was the first time that archaeological sites had been defined in legislation.

The Act provided specific policy guidelines for historic resource program areas. Under section 9, the legislation made provision for a public records management program for archival material generated by the public service.(Part 2) Though records had been reviewed by a committee under previous legislation, a set schedule and routine for the selection of archival material from all government Departments was now in place. In 1973/74 records management regulations were brought forward which outlined the processes and powers of the provincial archives.(Alberta Gazette. Alberta Regulations 1974. Regulation 283/74) Each Department was also required to appoint one employee to supervise that Department's records management program.(Section 11)

Within the historic sites program area, ministerial powers had been widely expanded. The minister originally had right to ". . . undertake a program of research into areas, sites and buildings considered to have a bearing on the purposes of the Museum and Archives."(Section 8-a) Within the new Act, the minister specifically gained the power to ". . . carry out surveys, investigate, document and excavate any site in Alberta."(Section 14-d) The powers were specifically spelled out leaving little room for doubt as to responsibility while expanding the minister's room for action.

Prior to this Act, under An Act respecting Provincial Parks, Historical Sites, Natural Areas and Wilderness Areas 1964, the provincial government had been given the power to expropriate land, for fair compensation, on which important historic resources or events of provincial significance had occurred.(Section 8-b) The government had to acquire the land in order to protect the site.

Under the 1973 Act, the government was given the power to place an "order" against the title of private land upon which significant historic resources were located. This protected the resource from destruction or change without the government's consent.(Section 17-4) The restrictions were more stringent for a Classified Heritage Site as opposed to a Registered Heritage Site due to its greater provincial significance.

As well, within these site restrictions, the government had the power to determine the type and kind of changes made to a designated resource. Under section 19, regarding Classified Heritage Sites,

> The Minister may (a) make regulations governing standards of maintenance of Classified Heritage Sites, and (b) by order require specific repairs or other measures to be made or taken to preserve any particular Classified Heritage Site.

Within the designation process, the 1973 Act created a classification of historic sites, though it did not outline classification criteria within each category. The classification system included Registered Historic Sites, Classified Historic Sites, and Heritage Monuments. The Registered Historic Site was of lesser significance in Alberta's history while a Classified Historic Site was very significant in Alberta's history. The Heritage Monument was an historic site category created to facilitate the designation of heritage sites wholly situated on Crown lands. Later regulations would utilize the registered and classified categories to determine the size of the grant allocated for maintenance of a designated resource.(Alberta Gazette. Alberta Regulations 1976. Regulation 330/76)

Under the 1964 Provincial Parks Act, the minister was given the power to make regulations ". . . governing the exploration for and

excavation of fossils, or other objects of geological, ethnological, historical or scientific interest. . . " located on historic sites, parks, natural areas and wilderness areas.(Section 9-h) However, regulations were never formed to control such exploration and excavation. Under the 1973 Act, archaeological excavation on any land in Alberta was prohibited without an archaeological permit.(Section 20-2) Once again the scope of the government's powers extended beyond crown land to private land. Further, any information or objects obtained during this activity became the property of the Crown.(Section 20-3-c)

The government's powers also extended to granting permission to any person engaged in archaeological investigations or historic resource surveys to enter private land which was thought to contain historic resources. In the event that historic resources were confirmed on a particular site, the government could ". . . order a survey of heritage resources to be undertaken."(Section 22-2) In the interests of protection and preservation of Alberta's historic resources, government powers regarding intrusion on private property rights were formidable.

Section 23 of the 1973 Act read that the government may make grants to the owners of heritage properties conditional upon terms ascertained by the Minister. This appeared to be an attempt to appease owners for the intrusion on private property rights that the Act authorized. Further, under section 36, the government was given the power to authorize compensation ". . . to any person who has suffered a loss as the result of the application of any provisions of this Act or the regulations." The creation of grant regulations to assist private property owners whose property had been designated did not take place until 1976.

Under Part 4 of the Act provision was made for the development of the Alberta Heritage Foundation, which was to assist the government in historic resource protection and preservation. It was recognized that the government couldn't do certain things associated with the private/business sector which would enhance the development of historic resources and Department officials felt it was necessary to implement such an organization.(Harrison, 1990; Schmid, 1990)

Further, this was an era in which public input into government was an important policy issue and this was one avenue proposed for such public participation.

The powers of the government were significantly enhanced under section 22 where it could order an historic site assessment to determine the nature of the resource and the impact of development on the resource. This section of the 1973 Act was to be of considerable consequence due Alberta's booming economy. All major development in Alberta was to undergo an historic site assessment and the Archaeological Survey was created to handle the coordination of this assessment process. The powers under this section were to be enhanced later under a further amendment to the Act.

In perhaps one of the most controversial sections of the 1973 Act, the government was given the power to issue a Temporary Stop Order requiring suspension of any activity which was likely to ". . . result in damage or destruction to any site which could be designated as a Registered Heritage Site or as a Classified Heritage Site."(Section 35-1) Further, the government, where it was determined that the site could qualify for designation, could order ". . . suspension of the activity or any part thereof for a further specified period."(Section 35-2)

Another indication of the power of the 1973 Act was section 37 whereby the government could make regulations exempting any historic site from provisions within the building code as established by any Act or by-law of a community which would ". . . hinder the preservation, restoration or use of all or any portion of the site or monument." The Act was to take precedence over other established Acts within Alberta where it concerned historic resource development.

Finally, under section 38, the government established penalties for contravening the 1973 Act. As well the government could order that the owner restore the historic site to its original state or, if this was impossible, seek damages.

As can be seen from the impressive list of powers gained, the 1973 Alberta Heritage Act was of great importance to further provincial historic resource policy development. The Act gave the

Department the legislative vehicle through which further programs and amendments to the Act were conveyed. At the time, the Act was a radical departure from previous historic resource legislation in Alberta.

Government Control of Private Historic Resources

Through the Alberta Heritage Act 1973, the government gained substantial control over private land for the preservation and development of historic resources. Subsequent amendments to the Act strengthened this control. The 1975 amendment, which renamed it the The Historical Resources Act, was put forth for two apparent reasons. First, the term 'Heritage' was replaced by 'Historical' because Premier Lougheed wanted the term Heritage to use with the 'Heritage Trust Fund' which was being set up to accumulate oil revenues in Alberta. Lougheed did not want confusion over the use of the term heritage between Alberta Culture and the Heritage Trust Fund.(Harrison, 1990)

Second, it introduced revisions for the 'Historical' Resources Act. It revised section 22 to read that the government may order the owner of designated property to undertake an assessment, to prepare and submit a report on that assessment and now ". . . to undertake all salvage, preservation or protective measures or take any other action which the Minister considers necessary." The intrusion on private property rights by this section was tempered by section 22(4) in which the Minister ". . . may authorize the payment by the Government of all or any part of the cost thereof."

Further, the amendment added to government powers through section 22(3) where municipalities were now required to suspend the local permits of developers where a site or development was served with notice of assessment for designation of historic resources by the Minister. The clause was in response to continued municipal attempts to permit destruction of historic resources which had been served with notice of assessment.(Schmid, 1990)

The Department, recognizing the need to assist and compensate owners of designated property with historic resource preservation and

development, introduced historic site grant regulations in 1976. (Alberta Gazette, Alberta Regulations 1976. Regulation 330/76) In the regulations, local historic sites were recognized as a category for the first time. A Local Historic Site was ". . . any historic site, approved by the Minister as having importance and interest in relation to the history of a municipality or locality." The creation of this category officially established another level of historic resource preservation which served to assist the preservation of local historic resources.

The regulations established a 50% matching grant structure for local, registered and classified historic sites for normal and emergency historic site preservation. Local historic site maximum amounts were not listed within the regulations and remained at the discretion of the Minister. Further, under section 4 of the regulation, the minister reserved the power to make any grants.

> Nothing in these regulations shall be read or construed as imposing any duty or obligation on the Minister to grant the maximum amount payable under these regulations, or to grant any amount at all, to any application in any fiscal year.

The Department, though extending assistance to the owners of designated resources, did not have unlimited funding.

Thus government intrusion on private property rights was to be alleviated somewhat through the provision of monetary assistance for homeowners. Though the amounts were not substantial, they were helpful in encouraging the historic resource designation process.

Also in 1976, the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation was created. The Foundation's purpose, under section 27 was

> (b) . . . to support and contribute to the acquisition, holding, preservation, maintenance, reconstruction, restoration and management of heritage resources by any person for the use, enjoyment and benefit of the people of Alberta.
>
> (e) . . . to provide the people of Alberta with an opportunity to become directly involved in the programs of the Foundation.

The Foundation became another avenue for public and municipal participation in historic resource development.

Government Control of Municipal Historic Resources

Through the 1973 Act, local involvement from local governments, historical societies and organizations with similar aims and objectives as the Department was invited.(Alberta. Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation, Annual Report 1972, 2) It was assumed that the municipalities had the power to designate any local historic resources through their by-law process.(Byrne, 1992) Further the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation was to be another avenue for inclusion of local authorities and private citizens. However, there was little provincial help by way of grant money for locally significant historic resources.

One aspect of assistance of municipal historic resource development was the power to exempt historic sites from the application of any building code. Exemption under this section could ensure preservation of the historic integrity of many locally and provincially significant resources. Another instance was in 1975 when the government required that municipal authorities suspend local licences for developments which were undergoing heritage assessments.

Another indicator of help for municipalities were the museums grant regulations of 1975 in which local historic organizations and municipalities were eligible to receive operating grants for museums, a lump sum payment for the preparation of a local history, and grants for special local historic projects. Prior to this the Department had offered assistance to 'Local Heritage Sites' through grants though not under any regulations.

Further recognition and assistance for local groups was extended via the historic site grant regulations of 1976. In 1976 also, the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation was put in place to further

assist public and municipal participation in historic resource development.

There was also some Department consideration of the relative lack of discretionary municipal funds that could be allocated for local historic resource development. Schmid(1990), when asked whether the Department was aware of the problem replied,

> Oh very much so. That's why we had the different designations. . . . That's why, for instance we had several different grant programs for museums and even allowed certain things to be built under some other programs for preserving historic sites.

In 1977, another problem occurred. The assumption that municipalities had the power to designate and protect local historic resources was proven wrong at the Supreme Court. The municipalities were now powerless to act if they wanted to.

The Department addressed this problem through the Alberta Historical Resources Amendment Act 1978, wherein the Department delegated designation and protective powers to the municipalities. A municipal council could now designate local historic sites through its own by-law process.(Section 19.3-2) The municipalities were given the power to place an order against the land title. In addition, the same as the Department's designation rights, municipal council was given the right to control future site development. The power of historic area designation and protection were delegated to the municipality as well.(Section 19.4-1)

However, these delegated powers were restrained by the clause which stated,

> If a by-law under section 19.3 or 19.4 decreases the economic value of a building, structure or land that is within the area designated by the by-law, the council shall by by-law provide the owner of that building, structure or land with compensation for the decrease in economic value.(Section 19.5-1)

In situations where the owners would/could demand compensation for economic loss, this clause stripped the municipal designation powers of much of their usefulness.

With limited discretionary funding the designation of local historic sites was an impossibility for most municipalities as it would have locked them into compensation payments they could not afford. Further, politically, this designation process would have created a lot of controversy within a municipality. It is doubtful that even without this clause, designations against an owner's wishes would have been undertaken except in the larger centers.

Nevertheless, the government attempted to provide for this situation as well. Under section 19.5(4) municipalities were given the option of creatively managing local resources for designation purposes. The clause read, "The council may, with the agreement of the owner, provide compensation under section (1) by grant, tax relief or any other means." But, once again municipalities were caught in a monetary squeeze as discretionary funds and indeed tax relief concessions were feeding into an already limited funding base.

The government's response was extra funding to supplement local historic resource development. In 1978 Alberta Culture committed one million dollars over five years to assist Strathcona Historic Area development in Edmonton. This program continued into the 1980's with the allocation of further funds for Fort Mcleod Historic Area development in southern Alberta. In 1990 historic area grant money was similarly allocated to the Crowsnest Pass for development of local historic resources.

The historic area designation process and local historic site designations did work in Fort Mcleod, Edmonton's Strathcona Historic Area and in the Crowsnest Pass through this grant process. The designation and development of historic structures within all those areas enhanced the economic value of the structures/area and assisted with local economic regeneration.

The Department also attempted to assist municipal funding of local historic resource development by encouraging even further creative financing methods. Under section 19.6, the Foundation,

Minister, Municipality or Historic Society could enter into a binding development agreement with an owner, the terms to be negotiated. Once again, without a major outlay of cash or some form of concessions to compete for economic value of alternate development, developers were not attracted to such agreements. The municipalities were checked except in circumstances of benefit to both the municipality and the developer - usually in smaller centers and economically depressed areas.

The provincial government also aided municipal historic resource development through other grant regulations in 1978.(Alberta Gazette, Alberta Regulations, 1978. Regulation 111/78) In addition to consolidating all the existing historic resource grants under this regulation, municipal historic inventory grants were created along with the re-introduction of cemetery restoration grants.

The inventory and cemetery grants served to build new awareness of local historic resources as communities worked with the Department to identify the local and provincial historic sites. This new awareness and activity, in combination with the special project grants for Alberta's seventy-fifth anniversary, produced a flurry of activity in local historic resource development.

Government Control of Other Government Departments

The protection offered under the 1973 Act was not just in the public or commercial sector but also applied to the government sector. The government was one of Alberta's largest land developers and had in past disregarded historic resource protection and development concerns. In address this issue, the Act could override other government Acts and require other government Departments to undertake historic resource assessments on any development projects.

Under section 15(2),

> The Heritage Sites Co-ordinating Committee shall establish liaison between and co-ordinate the activities of departments in relation to actions and programs which may have effect on the preservation and development of heritage sites.

Thus inter-Departmental coordination of activity regarding historic site preservation was legislated.

Under this section it was also recognized that historic resources development had implications for other government Departments. As Lunn(1978) stated,

> While having their own distinct preservation and interpretation functions, historical resources also have an important role in serving aspects of programs by other agencies such as in education, public information, research, building use, environment, tourism, regional development, and recreation.

The first instance of overriding control over other government Departments was in public records management whereby a more exhaustive system of control over government documents was put in place. Government control was also established through the purchase of historic sites. Prior to 1973, any lands designated as Provincial Parks were placed under the control of the Minister of Lands and Forests with all activity prohibited without the consent of the Minister.(Alberta. Statutes of Alberta. An Act respecting Provincial Parks, Historical Sites, Natural Areas and Wilderness Areas, 1964) Historic sites in particular were set aside for protection and preservation.

Under the Alberta Heritage Act 1973, the responsibility for preservation of historic sites was attempted through the purchase of historic sites and the designation of historic sites. The placement of an order against the title of the land meant the Minister could control certain aspects of development without having to purchase the resource.

Further control over other government Departments could be instituted under section 20(1) regarding archaeological excavation. "The Minister may issue archaeological research permits authorizing the person named therein to make excavation on a Registered Heritage site or on a Classified Heritage site or on any Crown Land." Under section 24(1) the government was given the power to designate any

historic site on Crown Lands as a Heritage Monument and could exercise the same control over these sites as in the private sector. The government could also utilize Temporary Stop Orders on government developments that were threatening heritage sites. Finally, under section 37(1) the government could exempt historic sites from the application of any building code.

The Department gained further control over other government Departments in later amendments to the 1973 Act. Under the Alberta Heritage Amendment Act 1975, the government gained the power to order the developer to ". . . undertake all salvage, preservation or protective measures or take any other action which the Minister considers necessary."(Section 22-2) This clause solved the budgetary problems of the Department regarding historic site assessments and made full-scale historic site development assessments possible.

Another major intervention on other government Departments occurred through the Alberta Historical Resources Amendment Act 1978. Through this amendment, the minister gained the power to establish any area in Alberta as a Provincial Historic Area. In addition, within such an historic area, the Minister gained the power to:

> (a) prohibit or regulate and control the use, development or occupation of land or buildings;
> (b) prohibit or regulate and control the exercise of any power specified in the regulations by
> (i) a specified Minister of the crown, or
> (ii) a government agency.
> (d) authorize the acquisition by purchase or expropriation by a specified Minister of the Crown of any estate or interest in the land.
> (e) authorize any specified Minister of the Crown, government agency or any other person to consent to or approve any particular kind of use, development or occupation of land or to exempt any particular kind or use, development or occupation from the operation of any provision of the regulations made under this section;
> (g) make any or all provisions of *The Surface Rights Act* inapplicable to lands of the Crown.

(h) prohibit, with respect to any land of the Crown in the area, any expropriation to which *The Expropriation Act* applies;
(i) confer on any specified Minister of the Crown, with or without conditions, any power or duty under the regulations.(Section 19.1)

This section introduced a major addition of power for the preservation/protection of historic resources as the pre-eminence of the Alberta Historical Resources Act over other Acts was enhanced. Within section 19.4(1)(a) the designation powers for Municipal Historic Areas overrode the Provincial Planning Act, 1977 as well.

The addition of significant control over other government activities when it came to the protection of historic resources was indeed important in Alberta's historic resource development. The implementation of controls over other government activities proceeded almost immediately after passage of the Act and represented a major part of provincial historic resource protection activity from 1973 to 1979 and beyond.

APPENDIX E

Amalgamation in the Crowsnest Pass

The first indication of municipal amalgamation was recorded in 1965 in correspondence between the Department of Municipal Affairs and the Secretary Treasurer of Coleman. Mr. Ramsey and Mr. Isbister of the Department had been delegated to undertake a study on local government administration ". . . to determine if some alternate form of local administration for the whole area is feasible."(Isbister, 1965)[1] This correspondence in addition to other statements indicate that there had been previous discussion on the subject.(Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. 1966)

The discussion led to a Sub-Regional Study for the Pass which was released in 1969.(Oldman River Regional Planning Commission. 1969) The problems, as extrapolated from the study, were;

1)The Pass economy was heavily dependant on the coal industry even though other industry had been established. Further, industry which had established itself since 1963 imported almost all raw materials from outside the region thus limiting local economic spinoffs. This had the advantage of insulating the local economy somewhat from a decline in coal markets but the disadvantage of negating local support industry development.

Tourism industry development was favoured in the Pass because it was located in one of the most scenic areas of the Rocky Mountains and it didn't have the stringent development restrictions of a national or provincial park. However, a lack of tourism services, urban blight, and competition from national parks to the north and south halted the development of the local tourist industry.

---

[1]The reference is from a letter from Mr. Isbister of the Department of Municipal Affairs to Mr. Collister, Secretary Treasurer of Coleman.

2) There was competition between industrial and residential land-users which led to scattered and haphazard residential development. Historically there had been a lack of land-use planning and thus inefficient land-use decisions continued. There was duplication of recreation, municipal administration, land-fills, cemeteries, fire brigades and industrial parks development while certain areas were deficient in such basics as sewage disposal and water systems. There was also a lack of adequate housing for new residents.

3)Urban blight was prevalent throughout the Pass. The causes of blight were identified as a high water table for a number of residential areas along the Crowsnest River, coal dust and coal workings from the colliery located close to residential areas, smoke and ashes from the lumber industry located close to residential areas, residential and commercial structures in need of repair, destruction or clean-up, and, urban sprawl due to the lack of consistent land development controls.

Economically, urban renewal would produce an improved local image to attract industry. Further, one political and economic voice would present a unified effort to attract and service industry within a controlled land-use development plan. Ending certain duplication of services would also lead to economies of scale and higher service levels. The improvement in housing stock and movement of residential development out of industrially blighted areas, or vice versa, would increase the area's attractiveness as well.

The sub-regional plan was adamant on one particular point. In order to stimulate the economy, a Pass-wide economic plan tied in with provincial economic plans had to be developed and maintained.(Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, 1969, 94) The report also recognized that such a plan could only be accomplished by political and administrative amalgamation.

The desperate need for urban renewal in the Pass, the difficulties in coordinating urban renewal between the many municipalities, and, the availability of both federal and provincial urban renewal programs were all good reasons for amalgamation. Further, highway realignment through the Pass would have meant the dislocation of a

large number of residents and the need for a coordinated land-use policy to control relocation.

Diplomatically the ORRPC stated, "Urban renewal is hampered by the number of municipal governments within the Pass and difficulty in reaching mutual agreement as to the kind and degree of urban renewal." (Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, 1969, 78) Further, "Locally, the implementation of any urban renewal program could be expedited by the establishment of some form of regional municipality which could speak with a single and united voice to the senior levels of government."(Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, 1969, 85) In conclusion, the ORRPC recommended that a local group be formed for an amalgamation study.

The study generated enough local interest that The Crow's Nest Pass Local Government Study Committee was formed of representatives from the community and the ORRPC. The purpose of the committee was "(a) to identify alternative forms of Local Government to be studied; and (b) to recommend to their respective Councils the most suitable form of Local Government for the Crowsnest Pass Community."(Bradley, personal papers)[1] Correspondence between the ORRPC and the Department of Municipal Affairs indicated that the Department was very much in favor of some form of amalgamation and encouraged the ORRPC to take a facilitating role in the formation and work of the study committee.(Bradley, personal papers)[2]

Throughout 1970, with the assistance of MLA Charlie Drain, the committee worked towards obtaining information on alternate forms of amalgamation. With the assistance and advice of Municipal Affairs, it recommended a study of local administrations and the financial

---

[1]The Assistant Director of the Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, Mr. G.H. Garvey, made notes of the meeting on May 13, 1970.

[2]The reference is made from correspondence between Mr. Morrison, Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs, and Mr. G.H. Garvey, Assistant Director of ORRPC, on May 15 and June 3, 1970. There was indication from a December 2, 1971 press release of the Study Committee that the group was founded by the Department of Municipal Affairs.

effects of amalgamation. The study was approved and the first part completed in 1971.

There was immediate negative reaction to the study as Coleman council was against amalgamation.(Bradley, personal papers)[1] Throughout 1971 and 1972 the second part of the study was undertaken. The committee continued in its mandate, though lamenting the lack of progress and fearing the loss of local interest in amalgamation. (Bradley, personal papers)[2]

Senior officials of the Department remained pessimistic about amalgamation due to the negative local reception of the study.(Bradley, personal papers)[3] In 1973 the second part of the study was completed and again generated considerable controversy. In dispute was whether the study had been done fairly for all communities.

A committee then suggested that the Department of Municipal Affairs put together its own study on the best form of amalgamated government and the advantages and disadvantages of such.(Bradley, personal papers)[4] It was hoped that a second study could address some of the concerns raised by the first study. Municipal Affairs agreed but could not proceed with the study for some time. Thereafter the movement lost momentum and there were no further meetings or Department action in 1973.

The controversy created by the study centered around the economic and political solutions for the problems of amalgamation. (Bradley, personal papers)[5] In its meeting minutes, the local study committee reported that the following should occur:

---

[1]Crowsnest Pass Study Committee meeting minutes from December 1, 1971.

[2]The reference is from correspondence between Mr. Don DeCecco, chairman of the committee to Mr. Isbister, Assistant Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs, no date, 1972.

[3]The reference is from correspondence between Mr. Isbister and Minister D.J. Russell, December 18, 1972.

[4]The reference is from the Crowsnest Pass Study Committee meeting minutes, February 7, 1973.

[5]The reference is from the Crowsnest Pass Study Committee meeting minutes, February 7, 1973.

1. "The elimination of all funded debt of all communities including necessary financial assistance from the Provincial Government." Certain Pass communities had very high debt loads due to their low commercial tax base which made it difficult to provide municipal services. Thus Bellevue's taxes were high due to debt servicing from past municipal improvement programs. This was in contrast to Coleman where taxes were much lower due to a higher residential, commercial and industrial tax base and other economic advantages. There was a lot of controversy surrounding this issue because Pass residents with lower tax levels did not want to assume the substantial debt of other communities.

2. "All urbanized areas be brought up to the standards of amenities enjoyed by Blairmore and Coleman." Coleman and Blairmore had the highest level of municipal services while most other communities were lacking even basic services such as water and sewer systems. In order to bring the other communities up to the standard of Coleman and Blairmore, substantial debt would be incurred. Many residents would not agree to this.

3. "That alternate formulae for the equitable future disposition of Coleman's town-owned utilities be devised." Coleman owned its own gas and water utilities and sold such services to Coleman Collieries and some of the surrounding outlying residential areas within I.D. #5. The revenue meant lower taxes for Coleman and the townspeople were not willing to give up this advantage.

4. "That the committee wishes to focus attention solely on the pros and cons of total amalgamation as opposed to partial amalgamation." The committee recognized that partial amalgamation whereby certain Pass communities were left out or only certain Pass-wide services were amalgamated would be of limited benefit.

5. "That Government initiatives be drawn up to broaden the economic base in the Crowsnest Pass. This is to be strongly urged."

The local residential and commercial infrastructure had decayed and the economy was stagnant. Local governments, given the restrictions of their tax base, could not hope to finance the scope of local urban renewal and economic incentives needed to attract industry. They needed outside capital to carry out improvements. It had to be a cooperative effort between local, provincial and federal governments. In addition, the Pass needed some form of assistance to encourage economic regeneration in the Pass whether that be a government funded economic development body or some other project.

After several other discussions with government officials in 1974, the study committee became dormant for several years. The study committee was not disbanded and had never reached any conclusions about the effects of amalgamation.

Though the process was dormant, the concept of amalgamation was kept alive through documents and letters from Ted Nicholson, Associate Planner of the ORRPC, to Fred Bradley, the new MLA. Bradley expressed a concern about the lack of economic stimulation, urban renewal and land development controls for the area. He stated that should strong economic development take place, the communities would be unable to cope with the development demands placed on them.(Bradley, personal papers)[1] Bradley was referring to speculation that coal could once again be a viable energy source due to the continuing high price of oil and further BC development of its coal resources.

Within the Pass the Crowsnest Pass Development Project, formed in 1975, began to speak out in favour of amalgamation.[2] The

---

[1]The reference is from correspondence between Mr. Ted Nicholson, Associate Planner of ORRPC to Mr. Fred Bradley, MLA of Crowsnest Pass - Pincher Creek concerning the ORRPC paper The Haves and Have-Nots - The Communities of the Crowsnest Pass, dated December 12, 1975 (Oldman River Regional Planning Commission, 1975); Further correspondence from Nicholson to Bradley, February 3, 1976 also speculates on this matter; Mr. E. Fantin, chairman of the Crowsnest Pass Development Project writing to Don Getty, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, October 28, 1976 also mentions this matter.

[2]The Crowsnest Pass Development Project, or Alberta Rural Development Project No. 3, was a provincial government sponsored project to assist economic development in the area.

Economic Advisory Committee of its Board of Directors lobbied the provincial government, Bradley and local councils to seriously study and make a decision on amalgamation. It recognized that the region had common economic problems that needed a unified response to bring about solutions. The committee produced an economic development plan reiterating the economic benefits and necessities of amalgamation.(The Crowsnest Pass Economic Development Advisory Committee, 1976)

Based on this interest and Bradley's lobbying, the Department of Municipal Affairs revived its amalgamation study.(Bradley, personal papers)[1] Senior Department officials met with local council representatives and reached an agreement that amalgamation was possible ". . . provided the government [was] prepared to supply funds that will act as the catalyst in the transition."(Bradley, personal papers)[2] Acting as a facilitator, the Project sponsored a meeting of the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Pass councils to discuss amalgamation.(Bradley, personal papers)[3]

The Minister offered a number of economic incentives including the industrial tax assessment currently being placed in ID #5's Trust fund - an amount reported to be close to four million dollars.[4] This would be placed in general revenue of an amalgamated administration along with capital grants to underwrite the cost of utility improvements.

Based on the favorable reaction of the councils, the Minister authorized the government study on amalgamation. In April 1977 Municipal Affairs presented a preliminary draft to the Board of Directors of the Project.(Special Projects and Policy Research(2), 1977)

---

[1]The reference is from correspondence February 5, 1976 between Mr. W.S. Fleming, Assistant Deputy Minister, to Mr. W.D. Isbister, Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs on constructive suggestions for amalgamation and how the department should approach it.

[2]The reference was in a memo from Mr. W.D. Isbister, Deputy Minister to Minister D. Johnston, February 12, 1976.

[3]The reference is contained in the minutes of a joint council meeting on June 22, 1976.

[4]Lethbridge Herald, February 11, 1977. Officials Favour Plan: Pass Awaits Amalgamation Report. The quote is by Municipal Affairs Minister Dick Johnston.

The Board examined the concerns and questions of Pass residents and provided feedback to the Department. By November, 1977 the final draft of the amalgamation study had been prepared through consultation with the Board and local councils.(Special Projects and Policy Research(1), 1977). In February, 1978, the draft was presented by the Minister to local councils and the decision made that the question of amalgamation should be put to Pass residents through public meetings and a plebiscite.

In early 1978 the matter of amalgamation was left in the hands of the newly formed Crowsnest Pass Amalgamation Liaison Committee. (Bradley, personal papers)[1] The next few months were spent working out the problems and concerns of each municipality, the major concerns being a rise in the taxes and the loss of community identity. Finally, the plebiscite was set for June 21, 1978.

Of the 2,588 people who voted, 1,740 voted yes and 848 voted no.(Bradley, personal papers)[2] The results gave the councils the power to approve amalgamation and negotiations between the Liaison Committee and the provincial government began. In the fall of 1978 the bill was passed in the legislature and on January 1, 1979, the legislation was proclaimed to form the Municipality of Crowsnest Pass.

The grounds for amalgamation had been prepared years earlier through the consolidation of many services in the area - schools, hospitals, historical society, recreation, chamber of commerce, economic development projects, and so forth. It remained for the Economic Development Project Board, the Liaison Committee members and the amalgamation process to successfully address the economic and social rivalry which prevented many from agreeing on amalgamation.

---

[1]The reference is from a news release of the committee on April 22, 1978. The committee was composed of two representatives from each Pass council, Fred Bradley as the chairman and advisory personnel from the Department of Municipal Affairs.
[2]The results were released June 21, 1978 in a statement from the chief returning officer.

APPENDIX F

International and Federal Influences on Provincial Historic Resource Policy Development

This appendix on external influences on provincial historic resource policy development reviews two intertwined influences - international and federal - in the first and second sections respectively.

International Influences

International influence on Alberta's cultural and historic resource policies had two main sources. The first source was the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization(UNESCO). The second source was the international travel experience and professional contacts of those who formed and implemented Alberta's historic resource policies.

UNESCO influence prior to 1962 was limited by the infancy of both Alberta's preservation movement and the UNESCO movement. The generalized policy statements of UNESCO provided an overall international source of influence. Government of Alberta elected representatives and senior officials participated in the development of papers for such conferences and thus to the formation of international policy.(Kaasa, 1990; Harrison, 1990; Lunn, 1990) Towards this end, participation in and agreement with international policy created an obligation for Alberta's government to follow and agree in principle where it affected Alberta's policy development.(Strom, 1971) Thus Alberta's government in large part complied with UNESCO historic resource policy.

Specifically, a number of senior officials were involved in UNESCO policy development from the 1950's to 1979. Russell

Patrick, Provincial Secretary in the late 1950's and early 1960's, became involved with the international movement for heritage preservation through contact with United States professionals. Provincial delegates attended the American Association of Historic Sites Administrators meetings and brought back the suggestion that there should be a conference in Canada during which ". . . much might be gained from . . . the exploration of provincial policies and practices in the fields of protection, conservation, marking, development and restoration of archaeological and historic sites."(Cranston, 1960)[1] Patrick indicated that the 1955 Alberta Jubilee celebrations had created considerable local interest in heritage preservation and indeed there was room for such policy development in Alberta.(Patrick, May 24, 1960)[2]

Ray Harrison, when asked of the impact of UNESCO policies on the development of historic resources policies indicated that they had an important conceptual influence on the development of the PMAA and its attendant programs. In 1970, Harrison prepared a paper for Provincial Secretary Ambrose Holowach to present at a UNESCO conference in which he related historic resources to the concept of 'cultural tourism' which had been broached in a UNESCO document.(Harrison, 1990)

Walter Kaasa(1990), Assistant Deputy Minister from 1971 to the mid-1980's, when asked if he was aware of UNESCO cultural policies during this time period, stated,

> Oh yes, I was highly aware. I was on UNESCO committees during my term. But as to the relationship between the two, one on an international, one on a provincial or really local level, it didn't have much of an impact on our development of policy, because ours were absolutely immediate in some cases.

---

[1]The reference is from a letter from W. H. Cranston, Archaeological and Historic Sites Advisory Board, Department of Travel and Publicity, Government of Ontario to Russell Patrick, Provincial Secretary.

[2]The reference is from a letter from Russell Patrick, Provincial Secretary, to W. H. Cranston, Archaeological and Historic Sites Advisory Board, Department of Travel and Publicity, Government of Ontario.

John Lunn(1990), Assistant Deputy Minister from 1975 to 1980, who also participated through the development and presentation of policy statements for Alberta, stated that the development of UNESCO cultural policies were created by the world's bureaucrats and that the federal politicians in the end made the decision whether to sign such agreements.

With elected officials the influence was apparent as well. In addition to Provincial Secretaries Russell Patrick and Ambrose Holowach, Premier Harry Strom mentioned UNESCO's policies at the 1971 Alberta Multicultural Conference. He wrote, "My government endorses these principles and recognizes the great benefit in terms of human values which we, as Canadians, can derive from giving effect to them."(Strom, 1971)

Lunn(1990) gave a detailed view of the kind of pressure UNESCO policies placed on politicians.

> Indirectly, of course, it has a profound influence. . . . Politically, that's where the indirect influence comes in. . . . I think world pressures, the media, the general tenure of thinking on the part of countries which want to be perceived as being advanced in some areas, is supportive of certain protective policies which have been created by the public servants and therefore the politicians support them.

Lunn further mentions that if applicable, in discussions with elected officials, he would cite UNESCO policies and the fact that Canada and Alberta had agreed in principle and therefore Alberta's policy should reflect that fact.

Another example of influence with elected officials was the 1972 Environment Conservation Report report, The Conservation of Historical and Archaeological Resources in Alberta: Report and Recommendations, which led to the development of Alberta's 1973 Heritage Act. In the report the authors recognized that there was at that time a ". . . renewed [international] interest in this type of legislation mainly because the public is becoming aware that these resources are vanishing."(Alberta. Department of the Environment,1972,17) It was also noted that significant other nations

including the United States, France, Egypt, Mexico, and Peru were revising or passing new laws for historic resource protection and development.

Direct influence on historic resource policies came from the application of UNESCO policies in the development of Alberta's historic resources. A large part of the basis for the development of the 1973 Heritage Act was the 1972 Environment Conservation Report which outlined the state of the historic resource policy field in Alberta and made many recommendations which were written into the Act.(Alberta. Department of the Environment, 1972) The report quoted the 9th session of the General UNESCO Conference at New Delhi as recommending that ". . . member nations should take legislative and other steps for preservation, conservation and study of historical and archaeological resources."(Alberta. Department of the Environment, 1972, 19)[1] There was also another UNESCO document listed in the report's bibliography. (United Nations. United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization, 1971)

Other instances for direct UNESCO influence on historic resource policies were perceived later. Tracy(1990) stated that a UNESCO document(he could not identify the document) had an influence on historic resources development field in Alberta by stating that one percent of a country's historic resources should be preserved. In the development of the 1980 Master Plan this figure was again used as a guide to determine the number of representative resources to be developed in Alberta.(Hurt, 1990; Tracy, 1990)

In another context, international influence came from the personal and professional experiences of Harrison and Schmid who had international backgrounds. Harrison referred to the experience he gained from his travels to historic sites in Europe, Australia, England and the United States. Specifically he indicated that a seven month tour of ". . . museums, art galleries, and historic sites in UK and

---

[1]The document cited is Recommendation on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations, adopted by the General Conference at its ninth session, New Delhi, December, 1956. Paris France, 1957.

Europe during 1954-5 . . ." 'whetted' his interest and ambitions ". . . to apply myself to Canada's heritage."(Harrison, 1992)(see p. 92)

Harrison(1992) stated,

> Accordingly, up to the end of 1959, I conducted extensive research into this topic, especially focussing on examples amongst city, county, and state agencies in the USA. Some of the US state historical societies and state historical commissions, impressed me greatly . . . Extensive correspondence, amassing a considerable library of relevant materials, tours across Canada and USA, and meeting with leading directors and others, led me to a personal conviction that there were possibilities for applying a unified approach in Canada.
>
> . . .
>
> Personal contacts with some of the leading people in USA in many fields of historic resource development such as in curatorial, exhibition, site interpretation, facility development, organization, archaeology , and conservations etc., expanded my understanding and provided the basis for much I was to achieve later.

Harrison, searching about for the application of this research to a position in Canada, completed historic preservation/development projects in BC and then was hired by the Saskatchewan government in the new Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History. Subsequently, in 1962, a position as museums consultant was created by the SC government for the development of the PMAA, as proposed in 1959. Hired in 1962, Harrison developed Alberta's early policy under Provincial Secretaries Patrick and Holowach.

Schmid(1990), coming from a Bavarian background, continuously referred to his international experiences and related Alberta's historic resource policy development to historic resource preservation around the world. In particular the development of the 1973 Alberta Heritage Act was strongly influenced by his experiences with international historic resource legislation.

Federal Influence

Federal influence on provincial historic resource policy began with influence on Alberta's social policy development. In general federal influence in the 1950's and 1960's was apparent in ". . . a national program of individual, welfare, urban renewal, and industrial incentives."(Bettison et al, 1975, 170) The Social Credit government was trying to adjust to federal pressures in these program areas while initiating its own programs to meet social needs. The result was an increasing number of provincial social and cultural programs.

Alberta, within the historic resource policy area, partly followed the federal lead in developing its cultural and heritage resources. In 1960 the federal government was making inquiries about provincial legislation relative to the protection of historic sites.(Canada. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. April 29, 1960)[1] This was spurred by a UNESCO Museums and Monuments Division request for a summary of Canadian legislation on cultural heritage and monuments protection. UNESCO wanted to include the data in a publication on this subject.(Herbert, 1960)[2] The federal government inquiry pointed out Alberta's relative lack of historic resource policy.

However, the federal presence in historic resources designation and signage in Alberta began before 1960. Early action involved the recognition of historic sites and events of national significance and the designation of such with accompanying site signage.(Canada. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. September 9, 1959)[3] Into the 1960's the federal presence involved the identification and marking of various sites of national importance.

In the 1960's a movement to discover Canada's national identity developed, symbolized by museums development throughout Canada

---

[1]The reference is from a letter from the Federal Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources to Russell Patrick, Provincial Secretary.

[2]The reference is from a letter from Mr. J.D. Herbert, Federal Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources to Mr. H.G. Jenson, Deputy Minister of the Department of Lands and Forests, Alberta.

[3]According to a document entitled List Of National Historic Sites and Monuments Board Cairns in the Province of Alberta, there were 28 cairns on the List of National Historic Sites and Monuments Board Cairns in Alberta compiled in 1959.

and heavily influenced by the 1967 Centennial celebrations which focussed on Canada's past and future direction. The fascination with history and heritage structures was a response to the uncertainty of the times. The leisure practice of heritage sightseeing gained momentum and developed into a major tourist movement.

In the early 1960's, the federal government initiated projects in recognition of Canada's upcoming Centennial. Alberta chose the development of the PMAA as its project. The combination of the awareness generated among Albertans during Alberta's 1955 fiftieth anniversary, and the process of planning and construction of the PMAA initiated increased provincial and public activity in historic resource preservation and development. This activity, growing public demand for provincial assistance in historic resource preservation, and the 1970 Alberta Heritage Act laid the foundation for the PC government's 1973 Alberta Heritage Act.

The federal government's presence was much weaker in the 1970's. In the 1960's and earlier, the federal government would acquire a site and develop it with little or no input from a province.(Lunn, 1990) However, the federal presence in Alberta was limited because of its strong existing involvement through Alberta's National Parks.(Tracy, 1990) Development in other provinces was a higher priority. With the jurisdictional conflict between the federal and Alberta governments during the 1970's, the federal presence in Alberta was limited even further.(Edey, 1990; Hurt, 1990)

The combination of Alberta's territorial protection and the federal government's reluctance to interfere in provincial jurisdictions led to inactivity which hindered the development of Alberta's historic resources. In addition the federal government never had a well structured planning relationship with the provincial governments to have exerted any significant leadership. This lack of joint co-operative planning led to haphazard and sporadic development of national sites.(Lunn, 1990)

The exception to Alberta's federal involvement came in 1972 when a new federal National Museums Policy motivated Alberta's government to swiftly develop a new provincial museums grant

policy. The 1973 Alberta Heritage Act and the first grant regulations under the Act combined with the National Museums Program to provide significant museums development money for Alberta's larger museums. To the end of this period, with this exception, federal influence in Alberta was haphazard and limited.

The international and federal influence on provincial historic resource policy represented an umbrella under which provincial policy developed. The influences were rarely significant though they served as guidelines for some provincial policy development. Alberta's historic resource policy development more often than not developed in response to public demand.